

THE DEVIL AND THE DIABLERIES IN
THE MEDIEVAL FRENCH PASSION PLAYS

CYNTHIA JANE FOXTON

PH.D
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
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ABSTRACT

Past critics have often tended to consider diableries, in the medieval French Passion plays as in other mystères, as increasingly bulky and grotesque comic relief only semi-relevant to the serious main episodes. However study of the sources and distribution of diableries, both those scripted and those likely to have been mimed, in the original or substantially original French Passion plays of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries - Palatinus, Biard, the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, Semur, Arras, Greban, the Baptism and Temptation/Auvergne and Michel - disproves this. Diableries neither increased proportionately in bulk over time, nor were they unrelated to the serious main plot, for their sources are the same serious ones as those of the rest of the Passion plays, and in the most developed Passions the structure and content of the diableries remain basically only an expansion of this core, which depicted the devils, in the capacity of the universal enemies of God and man, as having directly incited the plot against the life of Jesus. However there is an important difference between certain texts and others, in that some (Palatinus, Biard, the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, Greban) treat as primary the devils' historic activities against Jesus during His lifetime, whereas others (Semur, Arras, the Baptism and Temptation/Auvergne, Michel) give more emphasis to their activities against mankind in general at all times and in all places. Several factors are suggested to account for this distinction, of which the most important is that it was a deliberate aim of some authors to present their devils as an everyday menace to their own contemporaries, not merely as remote historical figures, in keeping with the spirit of the rest of their text. This "eternal" approach is also seen in other fourteenth and fifteenth century mystères, as well as in contemporary prose accounts of Hell, in sermons, miniatures and sculpture, and the staging of the French Passion play diableries has been extensively related to such material, emerging very much as an attempt to present the devils as the Fallen Angels of scholastic theology and Hell as the place of

torment of the eternally damned of all time. It is true that in this there is a tendency to dwell on the material rather than on the spiritual; yet study of the devils' modes of behaviour and their language emphasises that in a subtle way there is indeed a considerable effort to present them as spiritually degenerate. This is done by characterising them, on the one hand, as proud, given to elaborate ceremonial and councils, which contrasts them with the directness and humility of the good characters in the Passions, and, on the other hand, as disorderly, even vulgar, given to quarrelling, violence and cursing. These levels of bombast and chaos are traced throughout the devils' typical actions and speech and it is found that almost of it may be interpreted as a sign of their degeneracy, with only a small residue of what appears to be gratuitous "horseplay". Yet the devils are not the only source of this in the French Passions, for some contain vulgarity in many other scenes, and one even during the very Crucifixion, or also have a "fool" or a fool-like character to provide comic relief. The most divine characters, while never of course vulgar, are also capable of being depicted in a very informal, "homely" way, so that the question of the balance of the tone of the French Passion plays must be recognised as involving much more than just particular types of character or indeed just the overtly grotesque side by side with the spiritual. The conclusion is that the devils and the diableries are firmly integrated at all levels into the French Passion plays and that their character is but a reflection of the character of the genre as a whole, which general critical assessments must acknowledge.

I declare that the following thesis has been composed by myself and is my own work.

INTRODUCTION

To date there has not appeared any truly thorough long study of the diableries in the medieval French mystères. There have, to be sure, been two previous theses: one by Wieck in 1887 (1), and more recently another by Andrus in 1979 (2), although the latter remains unpublished. Wieck's work, however, has now been superseded in many ways by the publication and, indeed, the discovery of texts unknown to him, and moreover it is somewhat cursory, covering the devil's entire character and role in the scope of only 56 pages. Andrus likewise, while breaking much valuable ground neglected by Wieck, suffers from being rather short - just 175 pages. The result in both cases is more a compendium of facts drawn here and there from a wide variety of differing texts than a sustained and unified analysis; because the discussion is not contained within definite limits, it lacks direction and depth.

Indeed, the same may be said of most of the rest of past critical work on the French diableries; the only really tightly argued analysis to appear so far, Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller's 1978 article on the dramatic necessity of the Passion play diableries (3), has covered just one aspect of a part of the field. This work, however, pointed up the advantage of having a distinct focus, and the present study has followed by confining the main discussion to the French Passion plays, although it has been possible to extend many of the conclusions also to the French mystères in general.

The Passion plays were chosen initially because their diableries are among the longest and most amply developed in the medieval drama, and so in many respects they resemble the often rather less rewarding shorter diableries found in other types of text, such as miracle and saint plays, and so on. As the work went on, though, it gradually appeared that the Passion play diableries had a tendency to handle their special story-line in an unexpectedly diffuse way, which coincided quite exactly with the manner commonly seen in other sorts of play, despite the fact that these have very different subjects. The Passion play diableries seemed in part "standardised".

Exploration of the possible motives for this has led to some revision of earlier critical assessment of several aspects of the diableries. Perhaps most significantly, it has suggested new ways of understanding the relationship between serious and comic elements in the diableries, and also that between the diableries as a whole and the rest of the Passion plays.

Some of these findings have been underpinned, moreover, by a revealing contrast between material from the well-known fifteenth century Greban-Michel tradition of French Passion plays and hitherto neglected or unknown fragments from another contemporary tradition, that associated with Montferrand, whose text has only recently been properly edited and published, and whose diableries, in particular, have never been studied at all.

Primary texts for this study have been selected on the grounds of having complete or substantial originality, in other words of not being mere derivatives of texts already included. For this reason the main study will not involve the various late fifteenth and sixteenth century derivatives of Greban and Michel which lack this degree of originality, such as the Passion de Troyes (1490), the Passion de Mons (1501) and the Passion de Valenciennes (1547). These have been brought in only where they can usefully supplement the evidence of their models, or replace this where it is sparse, chiefly in the chapters on staging.

It has been thought well, for the sake of uniformity throughout, to adopt a standard order in which to discuss the primary texts. Unfortunately, there is no obvious and infallible choice. An alphabetical order would produce a very confusing series of leaps back and forth among fifteenth century texts and considerably different fourteenth century ones. A geographical grouping would have certain merits in that there is some reason to believe in the existence of distinct contemporary local traditions of Passion plays in

France in the fifteenth century, with relevance to the contrast between certain plays referred to above, but this approach would fail to cover four texts of whose place of origin we have no precise knowledge. Thus it is a third possibility, chronological order, that has been chosen; but it, too, has limitations.

Firstly, the relative chronology of the French Passion plays always has been, and remains, very uncertain; in two cases (see below) we simply do not know which of a pair of texts may be the earlier. Thus at present it is impossible to reach any definitive order amongst the plays as a whole. Secondly, given that in general the diableries of later texts are more complex than those of earlier plays, there is a risk that a chronological order of discussion will create an impression of constant progressive development from one text to the next through time. Since so little is known about the relative geography and dating of some four of the plays, half of the total number chosen, this would clearly be quite unwarranted. Nevertheless, provided it is taken as a working approximation only, and without the implication of progressive influence, chronological order has been felt to be a fairer way than any other of handling the French Passion plays.

The order adopted is as follows.

The Passion du Palatinus (= Palatinus) is usually taken to be the earliest known French Passion play. Its editor Grace Frank dated it about 1300: «Il faut donc placer la rédaction finale de la pièce au commencement du XIV^e siècle, peu de temps probablement avant la transcription du manuscrit» (4). Its exact origins are not known.

The Passion de Biard (= Biard) is the name given by Mrs. Frank to one of two copies of an apparently early Passion play preserved in a manuscript dating from 1471; the other copy, which does not concern us as it involves no devils, she called the Passion de Roman, and the two collectively the Passion d'Autun (5). Mrs. Frank considered that Autun was derived ultimately, via an intermediary play or plays now lost, from the same source as Palatinus. It does not follow from this,

of course, that the earlier play or plays would have been identical to either Biard or Roman as we now have them. Thus it is impossible to date Biard specifically; all that can safely be said is that to some extent unknown it must logically represent a previous play, probably more or less contemporary with Palatinus. Biard will be placed after Palatinus in lists, however, because where the diablerie is concerned there is some reason to suspect that of the two, it may be Palatinus which is nearer to the lost common source, while Biard may show a later alteration (see Chapter I, pp. 40 - 41).

The Passion de Sainte-Geneviève (= Sainte-Geneviève) is dated by its editor Graham Runnalls at about the middle of the fourteenth century: «Le Mystère de la Passion ... qui est l'objet de la présente édition, remonte au milieu du XIV^e siècle »(6). Again, the text's precise origin is unknown.

The Passion de Semur (= Semur) (7) and the Passion d'Arras (= Arras) (8) are very difficult to date, especially in relation to one another. Structurally, they are broadly similar, more complex than the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, but less so than the Passion de Greban (see below), which is thought to date from around 1450. It is known that the probable author of Arras, Eustache Mercadé, died in Arras in 1440 (see pp. 266 - 267 for arguments in favour of his authorship). A reasonable date to suggest for both Semur and Arras would be perhaps about 1420; Graham Runnalls has put this forward: «Ces deux ouvrages datent probablement de 1420 environ »(9). Because in certain ways Semur's diableries seem a little less sophisticated than Arras's, Semur will precede Arras in lists in this study.

The Passion de Greban (= Greban) (10) has been dated, as mentioned above, at about 1450; Graham Runnalls states that «la Passion d'Arnoul Greban ... date ... de 1450 environ »(11). Arnoul is known to have been a native of Paris.

The Baptism and Temptation of Christ (= Baptism and Temptation) (12) and the Passion d'Auvergne (= Auvergne) (13) are believed to be fragments of complete Passion plays

performed at Ségur, near Montferrand (nowadays Clermont-Ferrand) in 1452 and at Montferrand in 1477. Auvergne consists of two fragments, A and B, each representing one day's performance, while the Baptism and Temptation supplies a third. Graham Runnalls considers that Auvergne B and some episodes of A «sont incontestablement associés à Montferrand et datent de 1477 ... La version originale du premier fragment [i.e. the remainder of A] est également d'origine montferrandaise et faisait partie du texte joué en 1477; mais elle existait déjà depuis quelques années. Il est même possible qu'elle remontât à 1451; on se souvient qu'un Mystère de la Passion fut monté à Ségur en 1452 »(14). The Baptism and Temptation, although found in a separate manuscript, is related: «Bien qu'il n'y ait pas de rapports directs entre ce manuscrit et la représentation de 1477, il est facile de démontrer qu'il est apparenté au mystère du manuscrit 462 [i.e. Auvergne] »(15). The actual manuscript is entitled the «premier dimanche» i.e. the first day of a Passion play, performed on a Sunday, from which Graham Runnalls deduces that it is «une version tardive de la première journée du mystère conservé partiellement dans les deux fragments du manuscrit 462 »(16). Runnalls deduces further, from a reconstruction of the whole play's structure, that Auvergne A probably represents day three, and fragment B day five, of the performance (17). For most purposes of this study, therefore, the Baptism and Temptation, Auvergne A and B will be treated as representative respectively of the first, third and fifth day of a single play, which will be sometimes called, for brevity, the "Montferrand play".

Finally, the Passion de Michel (= Michel) (18) is the one text for which we do have a virtually certain date and location: it was performed at Angers in 1486, and so was presumably written by Jean Michel shortly before that. It is largely an adaptation of Greban's second and third days, but with substantial, and from the devil's point of view important, innovations, which set it apart from the other derivatives of Greban.

The normal order of discussion of texts in this study

will, therefore, be as follows:

Palatinus

Biard

Sainte-Geneviève

Semur

Arras

Greban

Baptism and Temptation/Auvergne

Michel

CHAPTER I

THE INTEGRATION OF THE DIABLERIES
INTO THE PLOT OF THE PASSION PLAYS

A: Previous critical views of the diableries

At no time in the hundred years since Petit de Julleville published his pioneering study Les Mystères have critics been able to agree about the status of the devil in the medieval French mystery plays. The most important assessments have been the following.

Petit de Julleville felt that the devils «jouent un personnage bien difficile à définir et même à comprendre ... Ils font rire et ils font peur»(1). Their role is at once comic and instructive, the comedy arising from the devils' defeat by the powers of good, their grotesque appearance and their frequent quarrels amongst themselves, and the teaching from their professed hostility towards all mankind and their delight in claiming and torturing souls (2). In the end, however, Petit de Julleville gave more weight to the comic side, declaring that if the devil is «quelquefois sérieux dans les mystères»(3), yet he is «plus souvent ... burlesque et ridicule»(4). From the point of view of structure, the diableries are «un accident ... non un élément intégrant du poème»(5); in other words, they are seen as random, largely comic interludes in the action proper.

The next major study of the devil was by Heinrich Wieck in 1887. Describing details of the devils' role in many texts, he argued that they provide edification through being seen to be the instigators of sin and the enemies of all virtuous characters, both human and divine (6). The devils are also the punishers of sin, but Wieck said that this last function soon acquired an extra comic aspect (7). The comic role further embraces outbursts of anger in defeat and rough treatment by his fellows of a devil who has failed, and Wieck hints that this theme grew in importance in later plays, for instance in the Passion de Greban, where the "angry" devil is exceptionally well developed (8). Apart from these rather vague pointers, however, Wieck declined to commit himself explicitly on the ultimate balance of the devils' varied role. His last statement is the somewhat nebulous one that its essence lies in "Widerspruch", or "negation";

the devil "ever promotes evil and ever inspires good" (9).

Emile Roy in 1903 edited the Passion de Semur, and made with it the first study of the French Passion plays as such. While relating certain episodes involving devils to serious sources such as the Bible itself and pious commentaries on it (10), Roy treated others as not important enough to merit being mentioned in his analysis of Semur's plot (11). In the general study he dismisses most Passion play diableries as being «interminables conseils de démons»(12) or «banalités faciles à imaginer»(13). Roy also considers them vulgar:

Est-il besoin d'ajouter que tous les rôles comiques, les bergeries, les diableries, les scènes de soudards maintes fois remaniées, sont d'une grossièreté qui ne laisse plus grand'chose à désirer? (14)

Similar views to Roy's are to be found in passing remarks by other critics of the period. A. Jeanroy rejected the idea that diableries might have any connection with general sources: «je ne parle pas des intermèdes gracieux ou grotesques, comme les ...«diableries», qui n'ont rien à voir avec la question des sources»(15). Maurice Wilmotte thought that diableries, with other comic elements, were invented inside religious drama in order to liven it up:«l'élément comique, réaliste ou fantastique, fourni par des hommes ou des démons, a jailli tout naturellement du tronc liturgique, sans qu'il puisse être question d'un apport extérieur»(16). Otto Geister based an entire thesis about the identity or otherwise of the author of the Passion d'Arras and the Vengeance Jhesucrist of the same manuscript on the assumption that diableries were, with the exception of set pieces, "freely invented" (17). Gustave Cohen, too, seems to have regarded diableries as often having been added "to order" to existing plays to enliven them for a particular performance:«Ces additions étaient le plus souvent des scènes plaisantes ou grossières ... des scènes de diablerie», whose main inspiration is «la personnalité de l'auteur»(18). Such diableries are felt to be basically a concession to the vulgar taste:

On sent bien que tout l'effort de leur composition porte sur les scènes de ce genre, chères aux hommes du peuple, las des plaintes de Marie et des prêches de Jésus ou des Apôtres.

C'était d'ailleurs un moyen de faire avaler un peu de morale entre deux hoquets de rire, comme une pilule entre deux gorgées d'eau. (19)

In 1923 Angelica Axelsen studied supernatural beings, including devils, in the medieval French drama. She concluded that the devils have a mixed role, both comic and serious. They are buffoons, but also tempters and enemies of the Kingdom of God; especially in the Cange Miracles de Notre Dame, they oppose the living of holy lives and the doing of penances in the hope of preventing souls from being saved (20). Like Wieck, however, Angelica Axelsen did not finally judge whether the comic or the serious aspect was predominant.

Raymond Lebègue, writing in 1929 of the Mystère des Actes des Apôtres, also dwelt at some length on the devils' role as the enemies of individual souls:

On croit trop volontiers que les diableries sont uniquement des intermèdes à grand spectacle et à grand tapage destinés à faire rire les spectateurs. Sans doute ceux-ci y trouvent un amusement, mais ces diableries ont aussi une signification religieuse: elles rappellent au public que les diables sont toujours prêts à induire les hommes au péché et à s'opposer à la miséricorde divine, et que les méchants vont inmanquablement en enfer. (21)

If Lebègue recognised some serious aim in the devils of the Actes des Apôtres, he seems, however, to have seen them still as having no direct relevance to the workings of the main action of the play; just as Roy did with the Passion de Semur, Lebègue omits the diableries from his analysis of the plot (22). In fact, in a later article, in 1953, Lebègue treats diableries as increasingly acquiring «un caractère de divertissement récréatif» (23). Thus his overall view would seem to be that if diableries can sometimes have some potentially edifying content, yet often they tend to be rather humorous appendages to the serious main episodes.

Professor D.D.R. Owen, writing in 1970, made a similar

criticism.

Considering the French diableries from the point of view of their portrayal of Hell, which is his main topic, Professor Owen compares their attempted realism unfavourably with the symbolic treatment apparently preferred in ecclesiastical circles (24). Of one devil-scene in the Cange' Miracles de Nostre Dame, he finds that:

The arrival of the devils on the scene would in no way add to the dignity or moral tone of the story, and this was true of the other miracles in which they appeared ... I cannot see the audience's dread of Hell being augmented by such scenes. (25)

Of the Mystères de Sainte-Geneviève, he distinguishes only the Passion, whose Harrowing of Hell scene has a "still relatively simple form" (26), and the Résurrection, whose author "Disregarding the popular taste ... has realised the serious nature of his subject and treated it with uncommon restraint and lyrical dignity" (27). In the rest, however, Professor Owen remarks "a strange mixture of the pious and the grotesque, which is well prominent in the diableries" (28), this tone probably being taken "as a sop to the layfolk" (29).

The French Passion play diableries are also discussed. Professor Owen follows the reasoning of Grace Frank (see below on p. 40) in assuming that of the two most primitive known texts, Palatinus and Autun, it is the latter, whose handling of the Harrowing of Hell is much the simpler, which is closer to the now lost common original source play (30). The beginnings of the French Passion play diableries are thus assumed to have been uncomplicated: "There is no indication of any elaborate diablerie such as might have detracted from the dignity of the performance" (31). The diablerie of Palatinus, where Professor Owen finds that "the atmosphere is virtually one of burlesque" (32) is regarded as a later development of the original simplicity. This is "an historic moment in the development of the mystères" (33), a foretaste of the fifteenth century Passion play diableries, whose "vast and exaggerated scale" (34) and "gaudy realism" (35) is held to

have overwhelmed their spiritual worth (36).

These fifteenth century diableries are more numerous than before, but Professor Owen sees the new additions as serving no purpose save to anticipate the Harrowing scene: "a series of diableries came to be demanded by the public by way of introduction to Christ's descent" (37). Taking the Passion de Greban as typical, he finds that not only are the extra diableries redundant in themselves, but they actually mar the effect of the Harrowing when it eventually occurs:

Any moral value these might have had was submerged by their appeal to the craving for sensation and broad laughter. Thus, when the supreme moment came, its poignancy was reduced by the comic associations built up in the minds of the spectators by the earlier scenes. (38)

Finally characterising the development of diableries as an example of an "increasingly light-hearted ... attitude to religion in the later centuries of the later Middle Ages" (39), an intrusion of "secular and comic elements" (40), Professor Owen concludes that:

... the staging of Christ's descent together with its attendant diableries was, theologically, something of a blunder.

From the doctrinal point of view, a simple and largely symbolical representation would have been safer. Alternatively, the events could have been narrated in the course of the dialogue ... (41)

Professor Moshé Lazar, however, writing in 1978, denies that the devils' comic antics ever overwhelmed their moral function:

Le Diable entre en scène dans le drame religieux médiéval pour servir d'antagoniste aux représentants du Bien et mettre en évidence la structure et la signification didactiques de la pièce; ... Le Diable et l'Enfer ne perdent jamais ces fonctions essentielles, même lorsque le grotesque et le grand-guignol envahissent et enveloppent l'intention didactique. (42)

He notes that the content of the diableries is partly

governed by tradition:

Le répertoire de la troupe infernale de Lucifer comprend un certain nombre de scènes typiques et les comédiens du roi de l'Enfer brodent des variations, avec plus ou moins de virtuosité, sur les mêmes données. (43)

Lazar goes on to claim, however, that alongside the scripted diableries there existed much comic "ad-libbing":

Les jeux de scène, les farces interpolées, les interludes, les acrobaties des acteurs, les grimaces et les mimiques, n'avaient point besoin d'être indiqués pour avoir lieu; le texte écrit, en ce qui concerne les diables et leur représentation, est comme le canevas qui, depuis toujours, sert les grands acteurs comiques. (44)

It is hinted that in fact these unscripted caperings bulked larger in performance than the scripted lines might suggest: «Ce n'est pas d'après le texte alloué aux diables ou d'après l'indigence des didascalies qu'il faut juger l'énorme place qu'occupent en réalité les diableries ... dans le théâtre du XIV^e et XV^e siècles» (45). Thus it is not surprising that in the end Lazar tends to give the devils' comic turns equal importance with their moral role: «Tout en servant le dessein didactique et en inspirant une certaine terreur, [les diables] présentent un spectacle populaire qui divertit et exorcise ses spectateurs par le rire» (46).

Another critic who wrote on diableries in 1978 is Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller, who studied the contribution of French Passion play diableries to the central working of the drama. Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller challenges critics who have tended to characterise diableries as unnecessary interludes and argues instead that they form an integral part of the Passion plays' story-line (47). This they do by crediting the devils with engineering the death of Jesus through the agency of the Jews with the aim of preventing the Harrowing of Hell; thus the devils are the ultimate pivot of the entire plot. The theme is seen in embryo in the most archaic text of all, Palatinus, which:

... sème ... un germe qui fécondera les grandes diableries des mystères du XV^e siècle: l'idée qu'une causalité diabolique est à la source des événements tragiques des journées qui se terminent à la mort du Christ. (48)

Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller goes on to trace the development of this theme in later plays, through its at first rather fumbling extension into the multiple diableries of Semur and Arras until it reaches coherence in the Passion de Greban. Arnoul Greban weaves the diableries closely into the main fabric of his play; he:

... aménage [les diableries] de façon nouvelle, les récrit de façon à les intégrer aussi parfaitement que possible dans le déroulement dramatique de son texte. (49)

Toni Andrus, however, who in 1979 produced a thesis on the medieval French stage devil, returned to the views that Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller rejected. She studies the physical representation of the diableries, their dramatic, comic and structural role and certain social ramifications of the devils' character, their relationship to the judiciary and to Jews. Dr. Andrus accepts that the devils provide dramatic counterpoint: "It is the Devil in his challenge to the deity who creates the conflict that becomes the dramatic action of many religious and semi-religious plays of the French medieval period" (50). Indeed, in Passion plays this is especially important: "the importance of the Devils' contribution as major figures in the preparation and representation of the Harrowing is self-evident" (51).

Despite this vital role, she finds nonetheless that the essence of the devils' part was the display of a lively comic "character" which soon broke free of the constraints of Christian doctrine and developed at its own ample pace:

The stereotypical Devil of Christian tradition shrank in stature and declined in favor, as the comic Devil, a folk anti-hero, thrived on popular acclaim ... He blossomed as a character in the diableries, which were evidently regarded by the playwrights as the only "free" sections in plays with structural lines fixed by religious tradition and exploited accordingly. (52)

Dr. Andrus concurs with Professor Owen that in the long run this was an unfortunate turn of events:

Public enthusiasm for the diabolic in drama was not altogether wholesome, however, for it was based on the disproportionate importance accorded to the diableries as well as on a questionable emphasis on visual and comic elements within the scenes themselves. (53)

Indeed, she considers the possibility that "overdeveloped" diableries actually brought on the decline of religious drama in France in the sixteenth century, but in the end she decides that it was rather the "Comic Spirit, incarnated in large part by the Devil" that was responsible (54).

Also in 1979, René Ménage studied the diableries of the Passion de Greban. He distinguishes three basic types of diablerie: those in which the devils "intervene in the outside world", those in which they "think", and those in which they "bawl and shriek" (55). The devils' excursions into the world are in Greban «essentielle^sment sérieuses et ne prétent que rarement à rire» (56), and scenes in which they are seen to think outweigh those in which they yell and howl: «Au total, l'enfer pense plus qu'il ne «braie et crie»» (57). In fact, Ménage does not find A. Greban's devils as lurid as his human villains: «Il faut avouer que le jardin des supplices ne produit pas, dans l'enfer grébanien, des essences très diverses ... Chez lui, les hommes font bien plus peur que les diables ...» (58).

Lynette Muir in 1981 produced a new edition of the Passion de Semur. Her attitude to the diableries seems rather ambivalent. It is asserted that some diableries contain motifs repeated in other types of scene - "tie-rods" - and so contribute to binding the whole play together (59); on the other hand, some of the diableries are omitted from her analysis of the plot, as though irrelevant to structure (60). Again, although said to be "traditional in substance" (61), the diableries are also included as part of "a quantity of extraneous material such as is found in one form or another in many European plays" (62), so that in the end it is

not clear what their final status actually is.

While this survey has certainly illustrated continuing disagreement among critics over the diableries, several more interesting points emerge too.

One is that critics' attitudes seem often, if not always, to have some connection with the type of study of the diableries that they have undertaken. On the devils' general character and role, scholars divide broadly into those who feel that the predominant tone is comic (Petit de Julleville, Emile Roy, Jeanroy, Gustave Cohen, Professor Owen, Toni Andrus), those who see it as a balance between the comic and the serious (Lebègue, Moshé Lazar), and those who find it prevaillingly serious (Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller, René Ménage). On the structural side, some critics have tended to treat the diableries as separate from the mainstream of the action (Petit de Julleville, Emile Roy, Jeanroy, Gustave Cohen, Lebègue, Professor Owen). Others have noted that the devils are often set in opposition to the good characters (Wieck, Angelica Axelsen, Moshé Lazar); two have argued that in this way the diableries provide the tension that feeds the entire plot (Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller, Toni Andrus). What is remarkable about these differences of opinion is that, on the whole, at the level of both content and structure, those critics who have characterised the diableries as frivolous appendages have made wide-ranging but not very deep surveys of large numbers of texts, whereas those who have seen serious intentions have tended to have made more detailed analyses of individual plays. What is more, the kind of text in which such aims have been found have often been Passion plays.

Might Passion play diableries be perhaps especially inclined to be serious and more intimately linked to their surroundings than diableries in mystères in general? If so, why?

With this in mind, we shall analyse the distribution and

main serious content of the French Passion play diableries.

B: Structure and content of the French Passion play
diableries

For the purpose of this analysis, <<diablerie>> will denote a stretch of script during which the devils speak at least once and are known from the text itself or from stage directions embedded in it to be participating in the action in hand. Thus, as yet, <<diablerie>> will not include pure mime; the probable extent of this will be discussed later.

Diableries so defined will be divided up into distinct "scenes" whenever movement from one part of the playing area to another is called for, whether or not there is a pause or direction in the script; often at such points there would be a break, or a change of tone (see p. 174 for instance on the different tone of some scenes set in Hell and on earth).

Palatinus

1. 1235 - 1420 Harrowing of Hell

Biard

1. 1870 - 1877 Harrowing of Hell

Sainte-Genevieve

1. 3913 - 4077 Harrowing of Hell

Semur

1. 220 - 254)	
255 - 284)	
285 - 304)	Fall of the Angels
322 - 332)	
388 - 452)	
1. 555 - 585)	
586 - 682)	Temptation of Eve
740 - 792)	

1. 839 - 844 Claiming of Abel's Soul
1. 922 - 939 Bringing to Hell of Adam's Soul (63)
1. 1187 - 1238 Discussion about the Flood
1. 4127 - 4157)
 4158 - 4172) Claiming of John the Baptist's Soul
 4173 - 4185)
1. 4213 - 4236)
 4237 - 4272) Temptation of Jesus
1. 5208 - 5217 Reaction to the Raising of Lazarus
1. 5324 - 5397 Planning of the Temptation of Judas
1. 6666 - 6684 Claiming of Judas's Soul
1. 6910 - 6921 Giving of a Dream to Pilate's Wife
1. 8425 - 8505)
 8584 - 8780) Harrowing of Hell

Arras

1. 1111 - 1213 (Report of Satan to Lucifer after the
) Annunciation
1. 2393 - 2456 Superfluous (64)
1. 5073 - 5144 (Report of Satan to Lucifer after the
) Slaughter of the Innocents
1. 5485 - 5506)
 5507 - 5534) Claiming of Herod's Soul
1. 6705 - 6748 Superfluous (64)
1. 6841 - 7001)
 7002 - 7056) Temptation of Jesus
1. 7865 - 7918 (Exorcised Devil's Reaction to the Cure of
) the Canaanite Girl
1. 13099 - 13122)
 13133 - 13174) Claiming of Judas's Soul
 13175 - 13186)

1. 14096 - 14191) Giving of a Dream to Pilate's Wife
 14192 - 14207)
1. 16337 - 16420 (Introduction of Dice to the bourreaux
 {during the Crucifixion
1. 17557 - 17681) Attempt to claim the Good Thief's Soul/
 17682 - 17729) Claiming of the Bad Thief's Soul
1. 18059 - 18231 Fortification of Hell
1. 20529 - 21029 Harrowing of Hell

Greban

1. 340 - 426)
 427 - 450) Fall of the Angels
1. 648 - 684.)
 693 - 864) Temptation of Eve
 910 - 943)
1. 1214 - 1229 Claiming of Abel's Soul
1. 1642 - 1651)
 1698 - 1717) Claiming of Adam's and Eve's Souls
1. 3705 - 3978 Devils' Council after the Annunciation
 (Satan's Reaction to the Presentation of
 1. 7133 - 7152 {Jesus at the Temple
1. 7297 - 7462 (Report of Satan to Lucifer before the
 {Slaughter of the Innocents
1. 7926 - 7985)
 7986 - 7995) Claiming of Herod's Soul
1. 10451 - 10470)
 10471 - 10563) Temptation of Jesus
 10564 - 10676)
 10677 - 10720)
1. 12333 - 12350 (Exorcised Devil's Reaction to the Cure of
 {the Canaanite Girl

1. 15100 - 15169 { (Reaction of the Devils in Hell to the
Raising of Lazarus
1. 15170 - 15205 { (Satan's Decision to begin tempting the
Pharisees to attack Jesus
1. 17323 - 17339 { (Satan's Rage at the Pharisees' Failure to
ensnare Jesus
1. 17339 - 17464)
18249 - 18254) } Temptation of Judas
1. 21768 - 22029)
22066 - 22176) } Claiming of Judas's Soul
1. 23270 - 23341 { (Reaction of the Devils in Hell to the
Rejoicing of the Souls after the Angel's
Visit to Limbo
1. 23342 - 23359 { (Satan gloats over Jesus during His Trial
before Pilate
1. 23360 - 23408)
23409 - 23439) } Giving of a Dream to Pilate's Wife
1. 24480 - 24529 { - (Report of Satan to Lucifer before the
Crucifixion
1. 25026 - 25065 Satan's Rage during the Crucifixion
1. 25700 - 25817 { (Introduction of Dice to the bourreaux
during the Crucifixion
1. 26006 - 26019 Satan's Reaction to the Death of Jesus
1. 26224 - 26425 Harrowing of Hell
1. 26613 - 26616 Claiming of the Bad Thief's Soul
1. 28868 - 28986 Devils' Council before the Resurrection
1. 31925 - 32002 { (Satan's Report to Lucifer after the
Resurrection

1. 33331 - 33407)
 33408 - 33491) Reaction to the Ascension

Baptism and Temptation

1. 565 - 699)
 726 - 826) Temptation of Jesus
 827 - 844)

Auvergne

1. 109 - 112 Temptation of Herodias
 1. 113 - 174)
 175 - 210) Temptation of Herod, Herodias and Salome
 1. 641 - 657)
 658 - 663) Claiming of John the Baptist's Soul
 1. 3260 - 3288 Harrowing of Hell
 1. 3786 - 3799)
 3800 - 3817) Claiming of the Bad Thief's Soul
 1. 3836 - 3855 Attempt to claim the Good Thief's Soul

Michel

1. 2196 - 2229)
 2230 - 2366)
 2728 - 3078) Temptation of Jesus
 3079 - 3206)
 1. 7790 - 7845 (Reaction to the Arrival in Limbo of John
 { the Baptist's Soul
 1. 8369 - 8376) Exorcised Devil's Reaction to the Cure of
 8427 - 8458) the Canaanite Girl
 1. 13877 - 13946 (Reaction of the Devils in Hell to the
 { Raising of Lazarus
 1. 13947 - 13988 (Satan's Decision to begin tempting the
 { Pharisees to attack Jesus

1. 17214 - 1. 17229 { Satan's Rage at the Pharisees' Failure to
 } ensnare Jesus
1. 17230 - 1. 17357)
1. 17400 - 1. 17473 } Temptation of Judas
1. 19012 - 1. 19064)
1. 23695 - 1. 23712)
1. 23719 - 1. 24024 } Claiming of Judas's Soul
1. 24025 - 1. 24070)
1. 25313 - 1. 25336 { Satan's Gloating over Jesus during His Trial
 } before Pilate
 (
1. 25493 - 1. 25644)
1. 25645 - 1. 25674 } Giving of a Dream to Pilate's Wife
1. 27054 - 1. 27103 Report before the Crucifixion
1. 27496 - 1. 27535 Satan's Rage during the Crucifixion
1. 28091 - 1. 28196 { Introduction of Dice to the bourreaux
 } during the Crucifixion
 (
1. 28396 - 1. 28419 Satan's Reaction to the Death of Jesus
1. 28644 - 1. 28695 Fortification of Hell
1. 28910 - 1. 28913 Claiming of the Bad Thief's Soul

Palatinus

Soon after Jesus has died on the Cross, Satan speaks up in Hell, inviting his fellow devils to look at Jesus's body on the Cross. He himself masterminded Jesus's betrayal by Judas for thirty pieces of silver and caused Him to bleed profusely and painfully from head, hands and arms. He is going to have to be strong to rise again, but Satan is sure that He has not the power. Therefore he urges all the other devils to rejoice wholeheartedly. Most do, but one other devil, Enfers, challenges Satan.

Enfers declares that Satan is either raving, or arrogant, or desperate. He is going to get more than he bargained for! He is going to get it in the neck! Satan's only reaction, however,

is to retort that he will give as good as he gets; he knows all a traitor's tricks. Enfers, however, adds to his previous words that he knows honestly that Christ is a most noble man who will disinherit the devils and redeem their long-held prisoners. Undoubtedly He will come to attack the devils, freed from death. Enfers urges the devils to organise defences, otherwise they will be robbed by Him; for himself, Enfers says that the thought of Christ makes his whole body shake and his blood curdle so that he cannot stand.

Challenging Enfers to a fight, Satan maintains that Hell will never lose its supremacy as long as the devils can keep up pride, deceit and treachery. Let Enfers say no more!

Enfers, however, addresses himself to the souls in the fires of Hell and to the other devils, saying that they have acted foolishly, and repeats that Christ will shortly attack Hell. Without weapons He will try to flatten the gates and fortifications; He boasted long ago that He would. By His strength and arrogance He will sweep His way through Hell, and the devils will not be able to stop or treat with Him. Enfers appeals for advice: should the devils stay or flee?

Again Satan rounds on Enfers, saying that he knows nothing beside himself. He will scowl at Christ if he sees Him coming into Hell, and pelt Him with dung and dirt to quieten Him. Enfers, however, advises the devils again not to fight against Christ. Then he sees His spirit approaching, and is struck with fear. Despite Satan's efforts to rally them, Enfers and the other devils flee.

Christ's spirit orders the infernal gates to be opened, but Satan refuses repeatedly, despite being warned to stand back; finally Christ's spirit effects an entry. Satan then discovers that he had been alone and, realising that he has been defeated and the souls comforted, he declares that he is going to Lombardy to drag out his life for ever more in defiance of Jesus Christ the King.

Biard

Descending into Hell to free the righteous from Limbo, Christ's

spirit strikes at the gates, demanding entry. The devils inside resist, asking "Who is this King of Glory?", but soon Christ's spirit enters.

Sainte-Genevieve

Shortly before the Harrowing of Hell, Satan alerts his companion Beelzebub, warning him that they must shut the gates and make Hell ready, for Jesus will attack them. Jesus is a man who feared death, saying that His soul was troubled unto it. He has been Satan's enemy, and Satan it was who arranged His Crucifixion, although this has only brought Him into glory. If Jesus truly is the Son of God, then He will surely despoil Hell. He has ever duped Satan in the past, setting dead souls free from his keeping, as Beelzebub saw with his own eyes.

Beelzebub asks if it is this same Jesus who revives the dead by His word alone; was He the one who raised Lazarus, though he already stank, and who claimed that He would break Hell down? Satan confirms it: he is speaking of that Jesus who drives devils mad by His very speech, and who never goes back on His word.

If so, says Beelzebub, let Satan keep Him and His followers well away from him; the boldest of devils trembles at the very mention of Him. If Satan does bring Jesus to Hell, He will plunder their entire holdings of wealth, and take Satan's captives up to life everlasting to be with God the Father. The devils would then be bereft, for Jesus would be lord of the living and of the dead alike.

Then Jesus arrives at the gates, demanding entry. Satan and Beelzebub strive to shore up the gates and to bolt them, and Beelzebub asks, "Who is this King of Glory?"

Eventually, Jesus effects His entry, and Satan admits defeat, wondering that Jesus should have such strength as to be able to enter Hell at will. He was dead in the tomb, but stayed there only a short time. Addressing Jesus, Satan then asks what He wants of him and recalls the confusion of all of the elements and of the earth at His death, but now, however, He is glorified by it. Admiring His wondrous power, Satan proposes a bargain: if Jesus will

leave the devils all their bondsmen, Satan will never do anything against Him again. He, however, brands Satan as the "eldest of the devils" and chains him up for ever in Limbo; he will never tempt again.

Beelzebub taunts Satan for his attempt to kill Jesus: what has come of the attack, in the event, is that Jesus has imprisoned him. Satan, Beelzebub recalls, led Adam and Eve into sin by making them eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, and thus he gained possession of his former wealth. Whatever did Satan think he was doing when he engineered Jesus's death? Satan confesses that he supposed that it would give him mastery of the entire human race on earth, to which Beelzebub retorts that he should have realised that sin makes no mark on the righteous. How could he have been so stupid as to arrange for Jesus to hang on the Cross! Now the devils are being forced to yield all their captives to Him!

Jesus then says that Satan will shriek his way through every torment in Hell, and, as Beelzebub continues to taunt him, Jesus says that He is giving Satan over to Beelzebub's custody in the place of Adam.

Semur

God creates the heavens and the angels, of whom Lucifer is the fairest. While God visits the earth, however, Lucifer is so carried away by pride in his splendid appearance, so close to God's own, that, encouraged by some bad angels and Orgueil to make himself lord of the universe, he enthrones himself in the skies of the north, whence all are toppled by St. Michael and Gabriel. When God returns, He decrees that the bad angels shall be banished for ever to the torments of Hell and be changed into devils. The new devils rage and wail over their fate, but then they resolve to do as much evil as possible in the future, and the fires of Hell are lit (l. 220 - l. 452).

Intending to give the places vacated by the devils in Paradise to humankind, God creates Adam and Eve. Lucifer immediately plans to attack and trick them. One of the devils, disguised as a snake with a woman's breast, tricks Eve, and,

through her, Adam, into eating of the forbidden fruit. As a result, they are exiled from Eden, and the devils all rejoice that they have won mastery over humankind (l. 555 - l. 792).

When Cain murders Abel, Mors Inferni gleefully lays claim to his first ever soul (l. 839 - l. 844).

After Adam's death, Mors Naturalis brings his soul to Hell (l. 922 - l. 939).

Throughout the succeeding generations of men, there is so much evil-doing that God is, in time, moved to send the Flood to wipe out the sinful. The devils gloat over what they see as their triumph (l. 1187 - l. 1238).

They are happy also to claim John the Baptist's soul, for they had long resented him. On going to claim his soul, however, the devils find to their dismay that they are unable to do it any hurt. Lucifer, on receiving the soul, casts it aside in irritation (l. 4127 - l. 4185).

Shortly afterwards, when Jesus is fasting in the Wilderness, Lucifer sends out his most expert tempter to try to corrupt Him and render Him his subject, but the attempt is futile (l. 4213 - l. 4272).

The devils then suffer a series of defeats at Jesus's hands. First, Lucifer loses the soul of Lazarus to a mysterious voice from above (l. 5208 - l. 5217). Then, at the devils' next meeting to report to Lucifer on their past year's work, one of them tells of being exorcised by Jesus from a man whom he had possessed, and another says that Jesus is their most dangerous enemy at present; he adds that he will work on the Jews to take His life out of spite and envy. Mors Inferni, while thinking that Jesus is God in human form, considers it feasible to kill His human body. Clamator Inferni says that he has in fact already tried to inflame the Jews to take Jesus's life, and Lucifer orders him to go back to earth to tempt Judas to betray Jesus, and Clamator adds that he will work on all the other Jews too (l. 5324 - l. 5397).

After his betrayal of Jesus, Judas becomes desperate and calls on the devils to advise him. Mors Inferni urges him to hang

himself, and Clamator Inferni chooses an elder tree; when they have taken Judas's soul from his body, they carry it away to Hell (l. 6666 - l. 6684).

Shortly before Pilate is due to sentence Jesus, one of the devils, Clamator Inferni, apparently realises that Jesus's death will bring about the loss of all he has won in the world. He therefore urges Pilate's Wife in her sleep to persuade Pilate to spare Jesus's life (l. 6910 - l. 6921).

This ploy fails, however, and the Crucifixion goes ahead. Just before the Harrowing, Satan speaks up in Hell, telling the other devils that he has newly come from the earth, where he has worked against their enemy Jesus by gathering the mob of Jews who hung Him on the Cross, by causing Him to be nailed with three great nails, by having a drink of myrrh prepared for Him and by causing His side to be split with a lance. Satan alerts the devils to expect Jesus to descend soon into Hell.

Most of the other devils rejoice and plan tortures for Jesus's soul, and Mors Inferni says that, as door-keeper, he will make Jesus reckon with him, since He has not the power of God. Satan warns, though, that Jesus is not a man who fears the devils, and turns to Infernus to alert him to be ready to receive Jesus.

Infernus, however, says that if Satan is speaking truly, Jesus will come to put the devils to shame and to torment them. He shudders at the very mention of His name, knowing that by Him will be saved all those whom he himself had damned. What a bad idea it was to have condemned Him to death! Saying that this is all Satan's doing, Infernus orders him to take Jesus elsewhere, for He shall not gain entry into Hell. Then he orders Mors Inferni to shut the gates.

When Christ's spirit orders the devils to open their gates, they ask three times, "Who is this King of Glory?"; when the gates fall, Mors Inferni falls too and Jesus's spirit puts His right foot on his neck as He calls Adam and the other souls out of captivity.

After a time, Satan speaks again, saying that he has got his desserts for the ill-deed that he engineered. He marvels at the

sight of Christ's spirit, and asks who is this king, so fair, shining, crowned and surrounded by angels; at the sight of Him Satan's heart quakes. He then recognises the spirit as Jesus, whom he martyred, thinking it a wise deed and thinking to catch His soul. In fact, it is making him lose everything, and Satan is driven almost mad that, in his misery at this, he is unable to make any treaty with the soul. Christ's spirit then orders Satan to stay in Hell until Doomsday; then Infernus shall have everlasting power to torture him. He says that He is leaving the devils in sadness, and cursing them.

After the departure of the souls with Christ's spirit, Infernus begins to berate Satan, blaming him for having ended the devils' former prosperity; he has broken open all their prisons, and left them in torment. Tempest intervenes, however, with the suggestion that he will find a way to win back the souls of the human race using seven "knights" (i.e. Deadly Sins). Lucifer gives Tempest his crown and throne and the command of all his vassals, and, although issuing a warning that there must be no failure, sends for the knights (l. 8425 - l. 8780).

Arras

Just after the Annunciation, Lucifer calls for the devils. Satan answers; Lucifer demands to know where he has come from, and Satan reports that he has been in Judea. In Nazareth, he saw an angel come to a young girl of the house of David, but was unable to find out what happened. Furious, Lucifer berates Satan for this inefficiency and sends him back to earth to discover the truth, also to send in as many human souls as possible in the next season (l. 1111 - l. 1213).

When Satan returns, he says nothing about the angel's visit; instead he offers Lucifer the soul of one witch. Even angrier than before after this poor haul, Lucifer has Satan beaten, then sends him back to earth with orders to collect more souls over the next season (l. 2393 - l. 2456).

In due course, Satan returns to report again to his master; now he has succeeded in tempting Herod, alarmed by rumours of an infant rival, to order the Slaughter of the Innocents. Delighted,

Lucifer gladly approves Satan's other idea of claiming the soul of Herod, who, he hopes, will later go mad (l. 5073 - l. 5144). Presently Satan brings this in, and it is put to the torture (l. 5485 - l. 5534).

As Jesus is embarking on His fast in the Wilderness, Lucifer sends out a number of devils, including Satan, on a general tempting expedition around the Holy Land (l. 6705 - l. 6748).

In the course of this, Satan happens on Jesus and makes a vain attempt to corrupt Him. He comes away profoundly shaken and unable to decide even whether Jesus is human or divine, also full of foreboding for the future. When he arrives before Lucifer, he is angrily dismissed without any discussion because he has no souls to offer. Left to his own devices, Satan resolves to make up for his defeat by engineering Jesus's downfall so as to catch His soul and regain Lucifer's favour (l. 6841 - l. 7056).

Later, another of the devils, Cerberus, also clashes with Jesus: he is exorcised from the Canaanite Girl. He returns in distraction to Hell, where Lucifer panics, ordering the gates to be shut and crying that God the Father is coming back (l. 7865 - l. 7918).

Later again, Satan comes back to Hell with the news that Judas, whom he had been encouraging, is now desperate. He asks Lucifer for a noose with which to make Judas hang himself, and Lucifer consents. Satan and Cerberus provide Judas with the noose, extract his soul from his belly as soon as he is dead and bear it off to Hell (l. 13099 - l. 13186).

During Jesus's trial before Pilate, however, Satan's eyes are opened to the risk that if Jesus dies, He will take the souls of mankind from the devils' custody. Satan consults Lucifer as to what to do, and is sent by him to give Pilate's Wife an ominous dream to make her plead for Jesus to be spared (l. 14096 - l. 14207).

This attempt to save Jesus fails, though, and while the Crucifixion goes ahead, Satan watches distractedly near Calvary,

in despair because he cannot find any souls to offer Lucifer. Eventually, however, he catches a victim in the form of one of the bourreaux to whom, as an infallible way of winning Christ's robe, he introduces the vice of dicing (l. 16337 - l. 16420).

After Jesus and the two Thieves have died, Satan and Cerberus try to lay claim to the Thieves' souls. St. Michael refuses them that of the Good Thief because his penitence has won the grace of God, the stream of which His death has opened up to humankind; from now on all who mean to do good shall have glory in Heaven. Cerberus claims only the Bad Thief's soul, but Satan remains on earth hoping to catch Jesus's soul (l. 17557 - l. 17729).

Soon afterwards, Satan, having failed to ambush Jesus's soul as he had hoped, returns to Hell. The devils begin to fortify Hell in anticipation of the Harrowing (l. 18059 - l. 18231).

Nearer the time, the Angel sets the souls in Limbo rejoicing with the news that their rescue is imminent, and this infuriates the devils. They try to silence their captives, who only make the more fun of them, and of Satan especially. He begins to howl with rage and despair over what he considers to be the injustice of admitting so base a creature as mankind to Paradise in the once angelic devils' place. Lucifer, however, immediately points out that, if this happens, it will entirely Satan's own fault, and this sparks off a quarrel. The other devils accuse Satan of having failed to rescue Jesus from death, but he defends himself by saying that he spoke "ten times" to Pilate to spare Jesus; he also tempted his wife and arranged that Jesus should be taken before Herod, who might have reprieved Him, except that Jesus would not say a word and Herod sent Him back to Pilate, who washed his hands and gave Him to others who crucified Him. Lucifer then accuses Satan of having tempted Judas "for three months" to betray Jesus into the hands of the Jews. This he admits, but in ignorance, he pleads, of the consequences. Other devils accuse Satan of having incited the Jews, of

having sharpened the lance which pierced Jesus's side, of having arranged the nails and of having mixed the drink of vinegar and gall offered to Him. Finally, his fellows set on Satan and give him a good beating; afterwards, he tries to reinstate himself by promising that before long plenty of Jewish souls will come to Hell (65). The devils then complete the fortification of Hell.

When Jesus's spirit arrives at their gate, the devils resist, asking who this "King of Glory" is. When He enters, Jesus knocks the gates down, and also knocks down Lucifer, over whom He passes into Hell.

Lucifer begs for mercy, overcome by his assailant's overwhelming power and splendour. He was killed, but now He lives. The sun grew dim, the stars pale and the elements fought while He was on the Cross, but now He is setting sinners free. Yet the world has always been subject to Lucifer himself; no man has ever died without yielding up his soul to him. Is the attacker then Jesus Christ, about whom he was warned by Satan, who said that he would lose his power to Him? Was it He who raised Lazarus, though four days dead and stinking, and many others too?

Jesus forces Satan to enter the pit of Hell with Lucifer, and forbids the rest of the devils ever again to leave Hell to tempt or to sojourn on earth, then He declares that Satan will take Adam's place in Lucifer's custody for ever more (l. 20529 - l. 21029).

Greban

God creates the heavens and the earth, the archangels and angels. Most of these are content to praise God, but Lucifer becomes so dazzled by his own splendour that he refuses to recognise God as his superior. Supported by some of the angels, Lucifer enthrones himself in the north, but, at God's order, they are toppled by St. Michael and Gabriel into Hell, and turned into devils. At first they storm over their fate, but in the end they reluctantly accept it (l. 340 - l. 450).

God then completes the creation of the earth, finishing by

making Adam and then Eve as the supreme beings on earth. Furious at their privileges, Lucifer sends Satan to attack the pair. Disguised as a snake with a woman's breast, he tempts Eve to pick and taste the forbidden apple. Thus mankind is exposed to death, and the devils gloat triumphantly (l. 648 - l. 943).

In due course, the devils claim the soul of the murdered Abel (l. 1214 - l. 1229), then those of Adam and Eve. Lucifer sends devils out in swarms to range over the whole earth (l. 1642 - l. 1717).

Meanwhile, the accumulating souls in Limbo call out incessantly to God for deliverance. Finally, God, with the Annunciation, initiates the process of redeeming mankind. Lucifer knows nothing of this, but he can hear the appeals from Limbo and develops misgivings about the future: is it possible that the souls could be freed? Lucifer consults Satan, who informs him that the Scriptures mention a "strong king" who will "loot" Hell; but he does not know his name. From this Lucifer deduces that some day there will appear on earth a totally righteous man who will atone for original sin. He sends Satan out to seek such a being and, if he finds him, to corrupt him and so render him useless for his mission (l. 3705 - l. 3978).

Satan duly arrives on earth, and soon discovers the infant Jesus, whose Presentation at the Temple he witnesses. Satan is entirely baffled by the circumstances of the child's conception and birth and, worried, he returns to Hell to consult Lucifer (l. 7133 - l. 7152).

In Hell, Satan describes Mary's matchless purity and resistance to temptation and tells that she has somehow produced a son who is rumoured to be the Messiah. Furious, Lucifer has Satan thrashed, but afterwards he approves his plan to tempt King Herod to order the massacre of all male infants, including, the devils hope, Jesus. Satan returns to earth to see to this (l. 7297 - l. 7462). After the Slaughter of the Innocents, the devils encourage the tormented Herod to commit suicide and claim his soul (l. 7926 - l. 7995).

Years later, Satan and Berich are in the Wilderness with

Jesus, but decide to go back to Hell to consult Lucifer. In Hell, the angry Lucifer has them flogged, but at length he orders Satan to return to tempt Jesus, if only to find out whether He is God, man or "something else". Not only does Satan fail to tempt Jesus, but he also fails to decide whether He is divine or merely human. After hearing Satan's report, however, Lucifer ends by ordering him to continue to pursue Jesus and to report back frequently (l. 10451 - l. 10720).

Later, Jesus exorcises Fergalus, much to his discomfiture, from the Canaanite Girl (l. 12333 - l. 12350). Next, He raises Lazarus, which throws the devils in Hell into a panic. Lucifer cries that the miracle is proof that Jesus is the Redeemer of Man and orders Cerberus to keep the gates of Hell shut (l. 15100 - l. 15169). On earth, Satan reacts too, making a momentous decision. Jesus, he says, is, through His preachings and miracles, doing a great deal of damage to him; now the loss of Lazarus is bound to have made Lucifer still angrier. The only remedy is to cause Jesus's death, and Satan starts by tempting the Pharisees (l. 15170 - l. 15205).

The Pharisees' first attempt fails, however, and, at the risk of a thrashing, Satan returns to Hell to ask Lucifer's advice (l. 17323 - l. 17339). Satan is flogged, but Lucifer approves his idea that the devils should work on Judas as well as on the Pharisees. Berich takes over these latter, while Satan himself tackles Judas (l. 17339 - l. 17464). During the Last Supper, he urges him to make the final betrayal (l. 18249 - l. 18254).

In due course Jesus is arrested and put on trial, but Judas becomes suicidal. Lucifer despatches Desesperance to urge him on, and she provides him with a noose to hang himself, then the devils extract his soul from his belly and take it to Hell for an elaborate punishment (l. 21768 - l. 22176).

As the time approaches for Pilate to sentence Jesus, an angel visits the souls in Limbo with the news that they will soon be rescued. They burst into song. Hearing them, Lucifer becomes alarmed; he remembers that it had earlier been debated and resolved that Jesus was the Redeemer - what if He should have died or been martyred, and be about to come down to Hell to free the captive

souls? (1. 23270 - 1. 23341). At this very moment, on earth, Satan is gloating over Jesus's imminent death, and returns to Hell to announce it to Lucifer as a triumph (1. 23342 - 1. 23359). Lucifer, however, attacks him as a blunderer, and despatches him urgently to Pilate's Wife to try to save Jesus (1. 23360 - 1. 23408). This Satan does by speaking to her in her sleep (1. 23409 - 1. 23439), but in vain. As the Crucifixion begins, Satan returns briefly to Hell to report his failure to Lucifer, then goes back to Calvary to observe events there (1. 24480 - 1. 24529).

At Calvary, Satan first gives vent to his rage that he should have brought about something beyond his understanding, and been unable even to delay it. He recalls how, through a woman, he condemned mankind; now he has failed in his attempt to use another woman to stop mankind's redemption. He dreads his fellow devils' anger over the Harrowing, but decides to wait and try to capture Jesus's soul when it leaves His body (1. 25026 - 1. 25065). Satan does not miss the chance, however, to introduce the vice of dicing to the bourreaux, who use it to play for Jesus's robe (1. 25700 - 1. 25817). When Jesus dies, Satan looks in vain for His soul to leave His body, so, fearful that it has eluded him and is already on its way to attack Hell, Satan hurries back there himself (1. 26006 - 1. 26019). After last-minute efforts to reinforce the gates, the devils are challenged by Christ's spirit, but keep silent except for howling in despair after His entry.

They speak again only after He has gone with the righteous from Limbo. They wail, and Berich starts to blame Satan for the whole disaster. Lucifer, however, calls for calm and urges the devils to make the best of things, then he orders Satan to claim the two Thieves' souls (1. 26224 - 1. 26425). In the event, he claims only that of the Bad Thief, St. Michael collecting the other (1. 26613 - 1. 26616).

Lucifer's main worry is in any case the whereabouts of Jesus's spirit. Satan is sent out to find out where it has gone (1. 28868 - 1. 28986). He returns with the news of the Resurrection, but reports that he has succeeded in preventing its spread amongst the Jews on earth by urging the Guards of the Tomb

to accept bribes from the Pharisees in exchange for their silence. Thus the Jews will not have faith in Jesus. Lucifer then switches his concern to recovering the souls of the righteous from Jesus, and sends Satan with two others to locate them (l. 31925 - l. 32002). However they have no choice but to lose these souls as they ascend with Jesus, and the devils return to Hell to face a final outburst of rage from Lucifer and a cruel punishment (l. 33331 - l. 33491).

Baptism and Temptation/Auvergne
(Baptism and Temptation)

Lucifer calls all the devils together and tells them about a certain Jesus, who is now doing a penance in the Wilderness. He was recently baptised by John the Baptist, and the two agreed that Jesus would work to win the whole of mankind to the path of righteousness. Satan suggests corrupting Him by temptation, and Lucifer gives his approval. Together Satan and Asmo go to Jesus, but Satan alone tackles Him, to no avail. The pair flee to Hell, where Lucifer has them beaten (l. 565 - l. 844).

(Auvergne)

During King Herod's birthday feast, Belzebut urges Herodias to have John the Baptist executed (l. 109 - l. 112). He then returns to Hell for reinforcements, which he is given readily because the devils hate the Baptist; they want to turn people away from being good, which upsets them (l. 113 - l. 174). A trio of devils tempt Herod, Herodias and Salome, returning to Hell when Herodias tells Salome to ask for the Baptist's head on a platter (l. 175 - l. 210).

In due course, the devils return to claim the Baptist's soul, but they are stopped from touching it, and struck, by Gabriel, who orders the devils to go back to the fires of Hell; the soul will go to Limbo (l. 641 - l. 663).

Just before the Harrowing of Hell, Satan warns Lucifer that the devils are lost, for Jesus, who has been put to death, is God in the form of a man; He is coming to Hell to ruin them all. Lucifer's advice to the devils is to go and shut the gate and stop

anyone from entering, in case they lose any dead souls. Jesus arrives before the gates, and Lucifer asks twice, "Who is this king of glory?". Jesus then enters, but the devils say no more (1. 3260 - 1. 3288).

Later, the devils successfully claim the Bad Thief's soul (1. 3786 - 1. 3817), but they are ordered away by an angel when they try also to collect the soul of the Good Thief, in spite of their continued efforts to claim it (1. 3836 - 1. 3855).

Michel

Satan is lurking in the Wilderness, on the look-out for potential victims, when Jesus appears and frightens him and his companion Berith away (1. 2196 - 1. 2229). After a beating up back in Hell, Satan is ordered by Lucifer to return to tackle Jesus, at least in order to decide whether He is God or man (1. 2230 - 1. 2366). The temptation fails to corrupt Jesus, but it also fails to shed any light on His nature, for, on Satan's return to Hell, he and Lucifer ponder fruitlessly over the facts that they possess. The result is that no further action is taken (1. 3079 - 1. 3206).

Later, John the Baptist's soul arrives in Limbo bearing the news that the Redemption of Man will soon be at hand. Hearing the souls in Limbo rejoicing at this, the devils are much alarmed; Lucifer apparently fears that Jesus will convert all living sinners and leave no souls for the devils to claim. To avert this, he initiates a massive counter-campaign of tempting (1. 7790 - 1. 7845).

Then Astaroth is exorcised from the Canaanite Girl by Jesus (1. 8369 - 1. 8458); later, Lazarus is raised from the dead. The devils in Hell are greatly alarmed, Lucifer declaring that the miracle is proof that Jesus is the Redeemer of Man. He orders the gates of Hell to be kept shut (1. 13877 - 1. 13946). Meanwhile, on earth, the miracle has brought Satan to a decision. He says he is already sustaining much damage from Jesus and this latest loss cannot but have enraged Lucifer even further. There is no remedy but to bring about Jesus's death, so, to this end, Satan goes off to incite the Pharisees and the Jews in general to attack Jesus (1. 13947 - 1. 13988).

Much to Satan's fury, the Pharisees' first conspiracy fails, forcing him to go back to Hell to consult Lucifer (1. 17214 -

1. 17229). Lucifer has him thrashed, but accepts his suggestion that the devils should start tempting Judas (1. 17230 - 1. 17357). A trio of devils tempt Judas twice (1. 17400 - 1. 17473, 1. 19012 - 1. 19064).

After Jesus has been arrested and put on trial, Judas becomes suicidal. Lucifer sends out Desesperance to him, and, at her urging, he hangs himself. Removing his soul from his belly, the devils take both it and the body back to Hell (1. 23695 - 1. 24070).

While Jesus is being held overnight by Pilate, Satan gloats over His approaching death (1. 25313 - 1. 25336). Meanwhile, however, an angel has brought the souls in Limbo news that they will shortly be rescued. They begin to sing. Hearing them, Lucifer becomes alarmed; he remembers that the devils earlier debated, and he believes for sure, that Jesus is the Redeemer. What if He should have died or been martyred, and be about to come down to Hell to free the captive souls? At this point, Satan arrives, rejoicing over Jesus's imminent condemnation. Lucifer attacks him furiously, then sends him back urgently to earth to give Pilate's Wife a dream to try to save Jesus's life (1. 25493 - 1. 25644). Satan gives the dream, but in vain (1. 25645 - 1. 25674). Quickly he reports back to Lucifer (1. 27054 - 1. 27103), then travels to Calvary to observe events there.

First he rages over the fact that, by his misguided scheming, he should have undone all that he achieved through the Temptation of Eve (1. 27496 - 1. 27535). He seizes the chance, however, to introduce dicing to the bourreaux as a way of winning Jesus's robe (1. 28091 - 1. 28196). When Jesus dies and His soul leaves His body, Satan only at that moment recognises Him truly for the Son of God; dazzled by the soul, Satan fails to see where it goes; however, fearful that it will plunder Hell, he hurries back there himself (1. 28396 - 1. 28419).

In Hell, the devils begin to fortify the gates. Lucifer then orders Berith to claim the two Thieves' souls (1. 28644 - 1. 28695). However, only the soul of the Bad Thief is taken, for St. Michael claims that of the Good Thief (1. 28910 - 1. 28913).

C: The French Passion play diableries in relation to sources

From the above summaries it will have become clear that all the French Passion play diableries cover basically the same body of material, although there is an important difference in its arrangement between fourteenth and fifteenth century texts. In the fourteenth century plays (Palatinus, Biard, Sainte-Geneviève) the entire story is given in a single diablerie placed at the Harrowing of Hell, whereas in the fifteenth century plays (Semur, Arras, Greban, the Baptism and Temptation/Auvergne, Michel) it is spread out over a series of additional scenes at intervals throughout earlier and also, in some cases, later action.

The ultimate source of the Harrowing diablerie of the fourteenth century plays has long been recognised as Part II of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the Descent into Hell, which dates perhaps from the third or fourth century, well before all our plays. Of the three main versions of the Descent, Latin A, Latin B and the Greek, it is Latin A that most resembles the medieval French stage Descent scene (66). The following excerpt, as translated by M.R. James (67), covers the devils' involvement:

And while all the saints were rejoicing, behold Satan the prince and chief of death said unto Hell: Make thyself ready to receive Jesus who boasteth himself that he is the Son of God, whereas he is a man that feareth death, and sayeth: My soul is sorrowful even unto death. And he hath been much mine enemy, doing me great hurt, and many that I had made blind, lame, dumb, leprous and possessed he hath healed with a word: and some whom I have brought unto thee dead, them hath he taken away from thee.

Hell answered and said unto Satan the prince: Who is he that is so mighty, if he be a man that feareth death? for all the mighty ones of the earth are held in subjection by my power, even they whom thou hast brought me subdued by thy power. If, then, thou art mighty, what manner of man is this Jesus who, though he fear death, resisteth thy power? If he be so mighty in his manhood, verily I say unto thee he is almighty in his godhead, and no man can withstand his power. And when he saith that he feareth death, he would ensnare thee, and woe shall be unto thee for everlasting ages. But Satan the prince of Tartarus said: Why doubtest thou and fearest to receive this Jesus, which is thine adversary and mine? For I tempted him, and I have stirred up mine ancient people of the Jews with envy and wrath against him. I have

sharpened a spear to thrust him through, gall and vinegar have I mingled to give him to drink, and I have prepared a cross to crucify him and nails to pierce him: and his death is nigh at hand, that I may bring him unto thee to be subject unto thee and me.

Hell answered and said: Thou hast told me that it is he that hath taken away dead men from me. For there be many which while they lived on the earth have taken dead men from me, yet not by their own power but by prayer to God, and their almighty God hath taken them from me. Who is this Jesus which by his own word without prayer hath drawn dead men from me? Perchance it is he which by the word of his command did restore to life Lazarus which was four days dead and stank and was corrupt, whom I held here dead. Satan the prince of death answered and said: It is that same Jesus. When Hell heard that he said unto him: I adjure thee by thy strength and mine own that thou bring him not unto me. For at that time I, when I heard the command of his word, did quake and was overwhelmed with fear, and all my wicked ministers with me were troubled. Neither could we keep Lazarus, but he like an eagle shaking himself leaped forth with all agility and swiftness, and departed from us, and the earth also which held the dead body of Lazarus straightway gave him up alive. Wherefore now I know that that man which was able to do these things is a God strong in command and mighty in manhood, and that he is the saviour of mankind. And if thou bring him unto me he will set free all that are here shut up in the hard prison and bound in the chains of their sins that cannot be broken, and will bring them unto the life of his godhead for ever.

And as Satan the prince, and Hell, spoke thus together suddenly there came a voice as of thunder and a spiritual cry: Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. When Hell heard that he said unto Satan the prince: Depart from me and go out of mine abode: if thou be a mighty man of war, fight thou against the King of glory. But what hast thou to do with him? And Hell cast Satan forth out of his dwelling. Then said Hell unto his wicked ministers: Shut ye the hard gates of brass and put on them the bars of iron and withstand stoutly, lest we that hold captivity be taken captive.

[David and then Esaias rebuke Hell and urge him to open the gates.]

When they heard that of Esaias, all the saints said unto Hell: Open thy gates: now shalt thou be overcome and weak and without strength. And there came a great voice as of thunder, saying: Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up ye doors of hell, and the King of glory shall come in. And when Hell saw that they so cried out twice, he said, as if he knew it not: Who is this King of glory? And David answered Hell [rebuking him again.] And as David spake thus unto Hell, the Lord of majesty appeared in the form of a man and lightened the eternal darkness

and brake the bonds that could not be loosed: and the succour of his everlasting might visited us that sat in the deep darkness of our transgressions and in the shadow of death of our sins.

When Hell and death and their wicked ministers saw that, they were stricken with fear, they and their cruel officers, at the sight of the brightness of so great a light in their own realm, seeing Christ of a sudden in their abode, and they cried out, saying: We are overcome by thee. Who art thou that art sent by the Lord for our confusion? Who art thou that without all damage of corruption, and with the signs (?) (68) of thy majesty unblemished, dost in wrath condemn our power? Who art thou that art so great and so small, both humble and exalted, both soldier and commander, a marvellous warrior in the shape of a bondsman, and a King of glory dead and living, whom the cross bare slain upon it? Thou that didst lie dead in the sepulchre hast come down unto us living: and at thy death all creation quaked and all the stars were shaken: and thou hast become free among the dead and dost rout our legions. Who art thou that settest free the prisoners that are held bound by original sin and restorest them into their former liberty? Who art thou that sheddest thy divine and bright light upon them that were blinded with the darkness of their sins? After the same manner all the legions of devils were stricken with like fear and cried out all together in the terror of their confusion, saying: Whence art thou, Jesus, a man so mighty and bright in majesty, so excellent without spot and clean from sin? For that world of earth which hath been alway subject unto us until now, and did pay tribute to our profit, hath never sent unto us a dead man like thee, nor ever dispatched such a gift unto Hell. Who then art thou that so fearlessly enterest our borders, and not only fearest not our torments, but besides essayest to bear away all men from out of our bonds? Peradventure thou art that Jesus, of whom Satan our prince said that by thy death of the cross thou shouldest receive the dominion of the whole world.

Then did the King of glory in his majesty trample upon death, and laid hold on Satan the prince and delivered him unto the power of Hell, and drew Adam to him unto his own brightness.

Then Hell, receiving Satan the prince, with sore reproach said unto him: O prince of perdition and chief of destruction, Beelzebub, the scorn of the angels and spitting of the righteous, why wouldest thou do this? Thou wouldest crucify the King of glory, and at his decease didst promise us great spoils of his death: like a fool thou knewest not what thou didst. For behold, now, this Jesus putteth to flight by the brightness of his majesty all the darkness of death, and hath broken the strong depths of the prisons, and let out the prisoners, and loosed them that were bound. And all that were sighing in our torments do rejoice against us, and at their prayers our dominions are vanquished and our realms conquered, and now no nation of men feareth us any more.

And beside this, the dead which were never wont to be proud, triumph over us and the captives which never could be joyful do threaten us. O prince Satan, father of all the wicked and ungodly and renegades, wherefore wouldest thou do this? They that from the beginning until now have despaired of life and salvation - now is none of their wonted roarings heard, neither doth any groan from them sound in our ears, nor is there any sign of tears upon the face of any of them. O prince Satan, holder of the keys of hell, those thy riches which thou hadst gained by the tree of transgression and the losing of paradise, thou hast lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy gladness hath perished. When thou didst hang up Christ Jesus the King of glory thou wroughtest against thyself and against me. Henceforth thou shalt know what eternal torments and infinite pains of death thou art to suffer in my keeping for ever. O prince Satan, author of death and head of all pride, thou oughtest first to have sought out matter of evil in this Jesus: Wherefore didst thou adventure without cause to crucify him unjustly against whom thou foundest no blame, and to bring into our realm the innocent and righteous one, and to lose the guilty and the ungodly and unrighteous of the whole world?

And when Hell had spoken thus unto Satan the prince, then said the King of glory unto Hell: Satan the prince shall be in thy power unto all ages in the stead of Adam and his children, even those that are my righteous ones.

It will be seen at once that this Descent episode supplies most of the material used in the French Passion play diableries not only in broad outline, but also in places in the minutest detail, as comparison with the earlier summaries will show. Thus the belief of certain critics - e.g. Otto Geister, Gustave Cohen, Toni Andrus - that diableries could be individual "free inventions" cannot be held to apply to these Passion plays. Their diableries sprang originally from the same source as the rest of their material, which in the fourteenth century was confined to Holy Week and inspired likewise largely by the Gospel of Nicodemus.

Nevertheless there do figure among the Passion play diableries several incidents which are not mentioned in Nicodemus. These are: the Fall of the Angels, the devils' involvement with the Flood and the Slaughter of the Innocents, the devil's visit to Pilate's Wife on the eve of the Crucifixion, the introduction of dice to mankind during the Crucifixion, and a number of soul-claimings - that of Abel, (the first) Herod, John the Baptist, Judas and the

Good Thief. In order to explain their appearance in various of the fifteenth century plays, past critics have had recourse to other influences apart from that of Nicodemus.

In the case of Semur, its editor Emile Roy related the episode of the Fall of the Angels (and the Temptation of Eve also) partly to the Bible and partly to the Historia scholastica of Petrus Comestor (69) and the visit to Pilate's Wife to the Passion des jongleurs, a vernacular poem based on Nicodemus and dating from about 1200 (70). Roy attributed the scenes in Arras where Satan introduces dice at Calvary and argues with St. Michael over the Good Thief's soul to popular legends attested outside the drama (71).

This idea of the combined use of a variety of sources has, however, been given more comprehensive form recently by Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller. She has suggested that some of the new fifteenth century diableries, such as the Fall of the Angels, the Temptation of Eve and of Jesus, were necessary "set pieces" occasioned by the inclusion of extra chunks of pre-Holy Week material from the Old and New Testaments. Their internal details Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller relates to «les ouvrages de méditation religieuse ou de vulgarisation théologique [et]... les textes narratifs français de la Passion, que les auteurs de drames ont utilisés» (72) - that is, pious works and popular accounts of the Passion. Another set of new diableries, this time ones inside rather than outside Holy Week, are seen as "extrapolations" from the Harrowing diablerie. Material dealing with Satan's part in the betrayal and death of Jesus, which was described in retrospect in the fourteenth century, was now hived off into separate scenes inserted in earlier action as it actually unfolded. Of these diableries the most important is the Temptation of Judas. Yet other new diableries - the claiming of Herod's soul after the Slaughter of the Innocents, the devils' panic after the arrival in Limbo of the soul of John the Baptist, the devils' reactions to exorcisms - are seen simply as a convenient opportunity to involve the devils further in the main action: «les mystères saisissent, sans que la donnée de départ l'impose absolument, l'occasion d'une

intervention des démons>>(73).

As an account of the origin of the extra fifteenth century diableries, the ideas of Emile Roy and Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller are fundamentally perfectly sound. Most of the Public Life and Holy Week diableries can indeed be viewed as hived-off extrapolations from a Harrowing of Hell diablerie inspired by Nicodemus, with the addition of a diablerie linked to Pilate's Wife's Dream which occurs in the Passion des jongleurs but not in Nicodemus itself. The important Old Testament devil-scenes could have been drawn from Biblical commentaries, if not from the Bible itself. The rest, the sundry soul-claimings and oddments like the Dice episode, could have come from popular traditions or from simple invention. Nonetheless, while there is no reason to doubt the overall validity of such theories, they still do not provide a positive explanation of why the fourteenth century French Passion plays have only the one diablerie placed at the Harrowing. This is because the same kind of sources from which fifteenth century additions seem to have sprung were also available to the fourteenth century authors - yet they chose not to use them.

The most important problem raised in this respect is the handling in Palatinus, Biard and Sainte-Geneviève of the episode of Pilate's Wife's Dream. In contrast to the position in Semur, Arras, Greban and Michel, there is no sign that any devil is involved. (Auvergne B, which is the relevant part of the Montferrand play, opens, after a gap where lines have been lost, just after "Percola" awakes, so that it is not possible to know what may have gone before.) In Nicodemus, Pilate tells the Pharisees of the Dream in the following way:

Now when Pilate saw it [the miracle of the standards lowering themselves] he was afraid, and sought to rise up from the judgement-seat. And while he yet thought to rise up, his wife sent unto him, saying: Have thou nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered many things because of him by night. And Pilate called unto him all the Jews, and said unto them: Ye know that my wife feareth God, and favoureth rather the customs of the Jews, with you? They say unto him: Yea, we know it. Pilate saith unto them: Lo, my wife hath sent unto me, saying: Have thou

nothing to do with this just man: for I have suffered many things because of him by night. But the Jews answered and said unto Pilate: Said we not unto thee that he is a sorcerer? behold, he hath sent a vision of a dream unto thy wife. (74)

In the Passion des jongleurs, however, it occurs thus:

Comment li deable s'aparut a la
fame Pilate en dormant

Or pallons un pou del deable
Que l'en apele connestable
De l'infernas perdicion,
Ou hom n'aura se douleur non.
C'iert Beizebus, li mestre sire,
Qui n'iert ja sanz duel et sanz ire.
Il fu plus clers que une estoile;
Or a la face trouble et noire.
Onques plus belle creature,
- Ce nous raconte l'escreture -
Ne fu creee que il fu;
Or a tout par orgueil perdu.
Quant encontre Dieu vout resgner,
Il le fist aval trebuchier (topple)
Enz en l'abisme, el plus perfont,
La ou la male gent iront.
Icele nuit que Dieu fu pris,
Porpense (reflects) et dit li anemis
Que apercevoir ne pavoit
Se Jhesu Dieu del ciel estoit:
<<Se il est Dieu et il part vie,
Toute ai perdu ma baillie (sway).
Il brisera Enfer li sire;
Qui li osera contredire?
C'il reçoit mort, ce ai je fet;
Je ai tót porchacié cel plet.
G'irai ci, reporchacerai (shall make a fresh effort)
Com de mort le deliverrai.>>
A la fame Pilate vint,
Devant son lit tot droit se tint.
Cele jut (lay) en son lit dormant,
N'est merveille s'ot paör grant.
<<Garde >>, fet il, <<ne soit ocis
Jhesu que li Juis ont pris.
S'il reçoit mort, mar fustes né ("you will wish you had never
been born.");
Vous en seroiz tuit afolé (ruined).
A ton seigneur di qu'il gart bien
Ne soit ocis pour nule rien.>>
...
Mes quant la dame s'espera (awoke),
Pour l'avison toute fremi.
Si tost comme el sot que Jhesus,
Qui Rois del ciel estoit lassuz,
Devant Pilates fu menez,
Ses courages (heart) fu moult troublez.

Envoié li a un mesage (messenger):
 <<Garde>>, fet ele, <<de tel rage
 Que li saint hom ne soit occis;
 Que il m'estoit anuit avis,
 Se porchaces qu'il perde vie,
 Seur toi tournera la folie.
 Moulit ai ennuit pour lui souffert
 Granz menaces en un desert.
 Ainz puis l'eure que je fui nee
 Ne fui je tant espouventee. (75)

Pilate then goes on, as in Nicodemus, to try to dissuade the Jews from demanding the execution of Jesus.

The same active involvement of Beelzebub with the Dream is found in all versions of the Passion des jongleurs, even if less expanded than the one quoted (76). Of course, there did also exist French versions of Nicodemus both in prose and in verse, which like the Latin make no mention of Beelzebub (77). However, from the general choice and numerous internal details of episodes (78), and, in some cases, a high level of textual resemblances (79), there can be no doubt that the fourteenth century French Passion plays were written in full knowledge if not of surviving versions of the Passion des jongleurs itself, then at least of a very similar casting of the legends. It would be absurd to suppose that they omit mention during the vision of Beelzebub's presence through ignorance of a tradition that he was there. Why then is he not indicated?

The most plausible answer is that the devil might have mimed giving the dream, without saying anything. This is what was suggested by Sandro Sticca in his edition of the Latin Passion play of Montecassino (80); it loses none of its relevance by the fact that the French Passion plays are apparently unrelated (81). The probable extent of mime in our devil-scenes will be discussed again more fully at a later stage.

It might be objected that if a devil did so mime the visit to Pilate's Wife, it would not accord with attitudes taken by the devils in the subsequent Harrowing diablerie. There, it will be remembered, the basic idea is that Satan believes up to the last minute that to have killed Jesus was an excellent

plan, whereas Infernus alone realises the true consequences. It seems, though, to have been only Satan who has been active on earth, and not at any time Infernus. Thus, in theory, it would seem nonsensical for Satan to have visited Pilate's Wife to try to save Jesus at a point where he is later supposed to have been aiming to kill Him - witness all the torments that he says he inflicted upon Him at the Crucifixion. Now in the Passion des jongleurs Pilate's Wife's vision is in fact attributed to one "Beelzebub". The question is how far this Beelzebub is distinct from Satan. In Nicodemus Infernus, in his final tirade against Satan, calls him "Beelzebub", as if this were simply an alternative name. In the Passion des jongleurs, however, Enfers says:

« Ha! » dist il, « Sathan, fel amer,
 Et prince de perdic'ion,
 Et tu, Beëlzebuz par non,
 Pour quoi vouloies tu ce fere?
 Tu cuidas (thought) tot le mont atrere
 Et avoir desoz toi toz dis ... (82)

He speaks in the second person singular: therefore he is, logically, addressing only one devil at a time. Yet it seems fairly clear, from the construction «Et tu, Beëlzebuz ...» that Beelzebub and Satan are not the same devil. In the rest of his speech, which is closely modelled on Nicodemus, Enfers repeatedly cries «Ha! Sathan», so that it looks as if he is blaming the disaster mainly on Satan, and very much less on Beelzebub. This Beelzebub remains a shadowy figure, never explained in relation to the other devils' conflicting ideas about the wisdom of attacking Jesus. If Beelzebub was always against it, why would Enfers include him in the final blame? If he changed his mind, at what point? This ambiguity may have come from a reluctance on the author's part to recast the Harrowing episode of Nicodemus in the light of the intervention of a third devil, even though logically the insertion of Beelzebub into the Dream scene calls for it; innovation was not generally prized in the Middle Ages. Indeed, even in the fifteenth century Semur and Arras, notwithstanding the existence of a whole series of devil-

scenes before the Harrowing, there persists some incoherence around the time of the Dream over which devil is aiming to do what. In fact, no playwright before Arnoul Greban steers his devils through the whole course with complete logic. Yet the very extent of this, to the academic mind, "muddled" approach would suggest that at the time nobody minded. After all, the devils were almost expected to be at cross-purposes with each other, it was a traditional characteristic which we shall discuss again. For the moment, it allows us to argue that fourteenth century Passion play authors could well have followed the Passion des jongleurs by having a devil mime the visit to Pilate's Wife, without anyone feeling any conflict with later developments in the script (see discussion of mime on pp. 58 - 60 below).

A more difficult problem, perhaps, is that of the treatment by Palatinus and Biard of the Harrowing of Hell diablerie itself. It will be seen from a comparison between the summaries of the plays on pp. 15 - 16 and that of Nicodemus on pp. 31 - 34 that the version of Palatinus is based only rather broadly on Nicodemus and that Biard's is extremely curtailed, cutting out entirely the devils' long discussions and confining their part, so far as we can tell, to opposing Christ's actual assault on their gates. Grace Frank felt that the Harrowing diablerie of Palatinus was a remaniement, an alteration of an earlier version:

Cette scène ... doit être considérée comme une contribution assez originale de quelqu'un des rédacteurs de notre pièce, parce qu'elle n'a aucun rapport avec les textes apparentés [= the Passion d'Autun and possibly Semur, which Mrs. Frank thought related also] et bien peu d'affinité avec sa source originelle, l'Évangile apocryphe de Nicodème. (83)

Indeed, the only sensible explanation for the diablerie of Palatinus would appear to be a writer with ideas of his own. Yet to me it does not seem to follow necessarily from this that Autun should be any more representative of the original, as Mrs. Frank appears to assume. This is because there are strong reasons to think that as compared to the hypothetical

prototype Autun is itself much altered - which, in another context, Mrs. Frank admits (84). Autun survives only in a very late manuscript, copied in 1471 (85). Most significant, however, is the fact that the text of Autun has been changed as compared to that of Palatinus by the insertion into the rhyme-scheme of the dialogue of some 230 "narrative" lines. Palatinus has just seven of these, of which only one is taken into the rhyme of the dialogue (86). These narrative lines of Autun have been and still are a source of much discussion, and many critics, including Grace Frank herself, have thought that Autun is a play adapted for reading rather than performance, in contrast to Palatinus which could be staged as it is without difficulty (87).

This background ought, then, to warn against automatically assuming that Autun's "simpler" Harrowing diablerie should also be "earlier". There is really no more reason to think that the "original" form of the lost common source play or plays is preserved in Autun than in Palatinus. Either could have it, or neither: we simply cannot know, and speculation would be pointless.

Yet it may be worthwhile to mention that another play of perhaps about the same date also departs somewhat in a Harrowing diablerie from Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs. This is the Résurrection de Sainte-Geneviève, from the same manuscript as the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, and so probably dating from about 1350 (88). This Résurrection shares an amount of text with a diablerie in the Nativité of the same series and there is some very similar in the Jeu des Trois Rois. In all three the two devils have the same names and general approach. This approach appears to be quite original and influenced by scholastic theology (compare D.D.R. Owen on p. 4). The devils realise from the first that Jesus is the Redeemer and that they cannot stop Him from harrowing Hell. (Obviously, this would have been impossible to keep up in a Passion play, and indeed the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève is independent). These devils see the inevitable Harrowing as their punishment for having defied God's supremacy prior to the Fall of the Angels, which they bemoan. For instance, at

the Harrowing of Hell, where normally the devils argue spiritedly about Jesus:

BELGIBUS

Et pour nous faire plus despis (scorned)
 D'omme mortel seront remplis
 Les haulz cièges de Paradis
 Dont nous bouta Diex hors jadis;
 Et pour ce que plus nous éсноie
 Leur donra la parfaite joie.
 Et pieçà l'on dit cilz prophètes
 Qui yoÿ sont dedans nos mectes (borders),
 Que Diex au monde descendra
 Et d'une famme vierge naistra
 Que il disposa (attended to) ainçois que nous (in preference
 to us);

Et veul bien que ce sachiez vous
 Par .i. Jehan qu'estoit conceuz
 Qui devant Dieu estoit venuz.
 Et sy entra ès désers,
 Il est sains, ne puet estre sers.
 A péchié en enfer vendra:
 Pas longuement n'y demorra,
 Car après lui vendra son maistre
 Par qui destruit sera noz estre (dwelling),
 Et ceulx qui se sont soustenu
 Contre péchié et offendu
 Et qui à leur povoir ont servi.

BELIAS

Nous a donc Diex sy aservy
 Pour le propos que consentismes.

BELGIBUS

Oil, car trop nous mefféismes (committed an ill-deed);
 Abatre volions sa grandeur.

BELIAS

C'est voir, ce fut grant foleur.
 Or ne puet aler autrement (89)

We can no more know the reason for this individual treatment than for that of Autun, although we can say that it has not come from any desire for comedy such as is apparent in Palatinus.

It is possible that the handling of diableries had not yet settled into a tradition before about 1350, which is around the date when the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève appeared, which, like later Passions, is much closer to Nicodemus and the poem. However there are no indications that it influenced

any of these later plays directly, or at all (90). As will be argued in more detail below, most of the surviving examples seem to have been following the same path largely independently of one another. The early fourteenth century position remains therefore rather a puzzle. One would not have thought, given the amount of detailed material provided in the devils' discussions of Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs, and provided moreover in almost totally dialogued form, that there would have been any problem in converting it into an acceptable stage diablerie. Inventiveness for its own sake was not, after all, normally much prized in the Middle Ages. Even if one were to argue, with critics such as Otto Geister, Jeanroy and Toni Andrus, that diableries were more "free" than other sections of the plays (see above, p. 2 and p. 7), the fact has still to be faced that we do not see variation on this scale after about 1350. At present, unfortunately, there is not enough information to pursue the question any further, as there survive few religious plays of any sort from before 1350 to compare with the earliest Passion plays - really only, among the fully vernacular mystères, the Miracle de Théophile (about 1265), the Jour du Jugement (about 1330), and some of the first Gangé Miracles de Nostre Dame, the second of which can be dated at 1340 (see below for editions), none of which is much like a Passion play, thus of little use.

Apart from the above reservations about the fourteenth century texts, however, Emile Roy's and Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller's explanation of the general origins of the Passion play diableries can be accepted. Where Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller is less successful, though, is in accounting for the later developments in their structure and internal detail.

It will be remembered that she argues that in the fifteenth century plays the single Harrowing diablerie of the fourteenth century gave way to a series of hived-off scenes scattered back as appropriate throughout earlier action. We have already remarked that it is by no means certain that even in the fourteenth century the devil confined himself to a single appearance; but more important by far is the following. Semur and Arras continue to treat some supposed activities of

Satan during the Passion by retrospective description within the Harrowing diablerie - i.e. they do not hive them off, as they do other episodes, into separate earlier scenes. These activities are: Satan's inspiration of the tortures of the nails, the vinegar and gall and Longinus's lance-thrust. Still less does Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller explain why, during the devils' council which precedes the temptation of Judas, Semur should also make a devil describe being exorcised from a man by Jesus, whereas in Arras we find the devil being exorcised in a separate fully dramatic scene at the appropriate point. What is more, the activities of Satan during the Passion that Semur and Arras have narrated at the Harrowing are never hived off separately, for from Greban onwards they simply disappear. Thus even into the fifteenth century there is some persistence of retrospective narrative alongside hived-off dramatisation, but parts of this are a "dead end" that is later completely dropped.

Again, Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller urges that the unifying theme of the French Passion play diableries is the devils' attempt to end Jesus's life in the hope of preventing the Harrowing of Hell. Yet all of the texts except Palatinus and Biard include somewhere among their diableries details of events that have no obvious relevance to the lifetime of Jesus taken as a whole, and still less to Holy Week which is all that one of them, the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, covers. Thus, the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève mentions the Temptation of Eve during the Harrowing diablerie, Arras the Fall of the Angels and the Temptation of Eve during the council before the Satan's visit to Pilate's Wife, and it touches on the Fall of the Angels again at the Harrowing, the Baptism and Temptation describes the Fall of the Angels and the Temptation of Eve during the council before the Temptation of Jesus, and Michel mentions the Fall of the Angels at the same point. In Semur and Greban, with their longer general coverage, these episodes are covered separately in dramatic form in the normal way. It is true, of course, that in Nicodemus the devils mention the Temptation of Eve at the Harrowing (compare p. 34 above), and that in the Passion des jongleurs an account of the Fall of the

Angels is inserted into the description of Beelzebub's visit to Pilate's Wife (see p. 37). It is therefore very likely that this is whence such references came into the Passion plays; but it still does not explain their actual purpose. Could there perhaps be more to the French Passion play diableries than the simple aim of depicting the devils' part in the plot against Jesus's life?

Intertwined though the problem of the persistence of narrative in some fifteenth century plays may be with that of the remembering of the far-off past, the two have to be separated for analysis. Thus, taking first the question of narrative/dramatic technique, it may be significant that it is in the most ample play of all, Greban, that the use of narrative is, uniquely, entirely absent. Might it be feasible to explain the structure of the French Passion play diableries in terms of the room available in the general coverage for the desired collection of devil-activities?

D: The incorporation of diableries into the structure of the French Passion plays

First of all we need to think of the plays' coverage as performance rather than as text. For the purposes of performance, medieval French mystères, if too long to be completed in one day, were sub-divided into two or more "days" or Journées. Fourteenth century Passion plays, 2,000 to 4,000 lines long, seem to have had only one session, but the fifteenth century texts, which had from about 10,000 to as many as 35,000 lines, required more. One arrangement was to have two to four "days", each exceeding the length of the fourteenth century plays to a greater or lesser extent. Thus, Semur has two Journées of around 5,000 lines, while Arras, Greban and Michel have four of, respectively, about 6,500, 9,500 and 7,000 lines. However, towards the end of the fifteenth century it seems to have become preferred to use more and shorter sessions. Thus, the Montferrand play is thought, when intact, to have had perhaps seven Journées of

only about 2,000 lines each (91). Its sessions, taken individually, were therefore comparable with the single fourteenth century ones. Bearing in mind that such sessions would take only about two to three hours to perform, as against most of a day for those of Semur and, especially, Arras, Greban and Michel, does this shed any light on the frequency of diableries?

A necessary start is to establish whether the rate of occurrence of diableries remains more or less stable in proportion to the total length of the script. If it does, it will be fair to go on to compare plays on equal terms with each other. The figures are as follows:

<u>Palatinus</u> <u>diableries</u> represent	186 lines out of	1,996 (9%)
<u>Biard</u>	7	2,117 (1%)
<u>Sainte- Genevieve</u>	165	4,477 (4%)
<u>Semur</u>	930	9,582 (10%)
<u>Arras</u>	1,724	24,943 (7%)
<u>Greban</u>	2,802	35,574 (8%)
<u>Baptism and Temptation/ Auvergne</u>	460	6,088 (8%)
<u>Michel</u>	1,981	29,926 (7%)

There is more fluctuation in the fourteenth than in the fifteenth century, but this is not important since it involves only a single diablerie, whose internal length is irrelevant to external structure. In the fifteenth century, the average is about 8% of the total script. If we except Biard, which, as indicated earlier, may be a special case, this is also true for the fourteenth century.

If we next compare, as far as possible, the number of distinct points in the fifteenth century plays where a diablerie, or group of related diableries, is found, it is thus:

<u>diablerie</u>	<u>Semur</u>	<u>Arras</u>	<u>Greban</u>	<u>Baptism and Temptation/ Auvergne</u>	<u>Michel</u>
Temptation of Jesus	X	X	X	X	X
around the Execution of John the Baptist	X			X	X
after an Exorcism		X	X		X
<hr/> material lost between <u>Fragments A</u> and <u>B</u> of <u>Auvergne</u> , omitted <hr/>					
activities during the Crucifixion		X	X		X
Harrowing of Hell	X	X	X	X	X
Claiming of Good/Bad Thief's Soul		X	X	X	X
Total	3	5	5	4	6

These figures do show that it is those plays which have the lengthiest sessions, Arras, Greban and Michel, that also have, coverage for coverage, the most points with a diablerie attached. In other words, they introduce additional diableries - not always the same ones - that brisker plays leave out. How did authors choose where to do this, then, and with which kind of diablerie?

Granted that authors had access of some kind, through knowledge of written sources such as those discussed above, or through knowledge of other plays, to traditional treatments of the devils, the first step in incorporating diableries into one's own Passion play seems to have been to try to obtain a reasonably even spread of diableries throughout the action, finding some for all the sessions. Thus, in Semur's two Journées there are five and seven separate diableries. In Arras's four sessions there are four diableries in each of the first three Journées and one very long diablerie in the last. In Greban's four main Journées there are, respectively, four, six, ten (though many are quite short) and three. In Michel's

four Journées there are two (though one is very long), three, three and nine (though many of these are quite short). In the Baptism and Temptation there is one diablerie, though it is lengthy; in Fragment A of Auvergne there are three, and in Fragment B also three. All this would tend to suggest that one long major diablerie, such as the Temptation of Jesus in the Baptism and Temptation, or the Harrowing of Hell in the fourth Journée of Arras, seems to have been felt sufficient even for a fairly prolonged single session. This can explain more positively than before why the fourteenth century Passion plays had only the one scripted diablerie, the climactic and, incidentally, visually spectacular Harrowing of Hell: for a short session this was enough. Generally, however, fifteenth century plays looked for more.

Obviously, the "set pieces" such as the Fall of the Angels, the Temptation of Eve and of Jesus, and the Harrowing of Hell, if they were to be covered in the course of the general action, found their own natural place. An author's scope was in arranging other diableries around the set pieces.

For these "extra" diableries Passion play authors had to hand two partly overlapping, yet distinct, bodies of ideas. They could, if it was feasible, relate scenes to the theme of the devils' plot against Jesus, drawn usually from the Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs tradition with which we are already familiar. Otherwise they could tap the devils' established general function as tempters and soul-claimers, which is seen in many earlier and contemporary French religious plays. Some particularly relevant examples are as follows. In the twelfth century Jeu d'Adam the Devil tempts Adam and Eve, and devils claim both their souls, also those of Cain and Abel (92). In the prologue to the Nativité de Sainte-Geneviève they tempt Eve and claim Adam's soul, while in the main text they have two discussions in Hell about the cries of the patriarchs in Limbo, the last shortly before the Annunciation (93). In the Jeu des Trois Rois de Sainte-Geneviève, the devils discuss the Slaughter of the Innocents and abet Herod's suicide (94). Thus it is possible that, apart

from set pieces, the death of Adam and Abel, the Annunciation, the Slaughter of the Innocents and the suicide of Herod were already traditionally possible spots to attach a devil-scene.

If we now examine the fifteenth century French Passions to see how many of their diableries are "set", and how many are "extra", we find the following.

The Passion de Semur, as noted earlier, has two Journées of about 5,000 lines each. In the first day, there are three set pieces, the Fall of the Angels, the Temptation of Eve and that of Jesus. In the second day there is one, the Harrowing of Hell. "Extra" scenes in the first Journée are: the claiming of Abel's soul, a devils' council linked loosely to the Flood, and the claiming of John the Baptist's soul. The Abel scene makes the point that the devils are receiving their first human soul, but would also be a convenient way of bringing Abel off-stage. The Flood discussion is roughly half-way between the Temptation of Eve and the Abel scene (which are close together) and the John the Baptist scene - probably not a coincidence. It is quite likely that Semur's author felt it necessary to have another diablerie at this point, and, since his choice has no known background in tradition, invented it for himself on the lines of other gloatings over catastrophes which did occur in tradition, such as over the Slaughter of the Innocents. On the other hand, the John the Baptist scene lies just before the Temptation of Jesus, so that there was clearly no call here for an "in-between" diablerie. However having one would conveniently clear the stage for the Temptation itself, which is placed afterwards, as the climax of the day.

The extra diableries of Semur's second Journée are the reaction of Infernus to the Raising of Lazarus, the devils' council which leads to their decision to bring about the downfall of Jesus via the temptation of Judas, the claiming of Judas's soul and the devil's visit to Pilate's Wife. The devils' consternation at the loss of the soul of Lazarus appears best interpreted as an "extrapolation" based on sources of the Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs kind, which placed at the Harrowing of Hell a wider-ranging retrospective

discussion, where normally Infernus recalls his earlier alarm. Certainly, it is significant that Semur calls the speaker at this point "Infernus", suggesting that the author may well have been working from an actual version of the narrative. However that may be, the episode may have recommended itself particularly as able to serve as a spectacular cover for the lowering of Lazarus's soul "on a string" from Limbo into his tomb in preparation for the climax of the miracle; meanwhile "faciant DIABOLI magnum tonitruum et fumum et tempestates" (l. 5217 - l. 5218). Even without this, it would still add to the overall impact of the episode. The devils' council which is the next extra diablerie is probably another extrapolation from the Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs tradition, for it seems to be meant to establish explicitly that it was the devils who were the root source of the plot against Jesus. The claiming of Judas's soul which follows on from that is both a moral lesson about the fate of the devils' agents, and also, as with John the Baptist, a good way of removing him from the stage. The last extra diablerie of Semur's second Journée, the visit to Pilate's Wife, has very obviously been inspired, directly or indirectly, from the Passion des jongleurs tradition. A final indication of the influence of the narrative tradition on Semur is the fact, worth mentioning for it will be important later, that this text retains some pre-Harrowing discussion of past events, although none of it overlaps precisely with diableries dramatised earlier. Also worth note is the more original fact that Semur inserts into the devils' council in the second Journée a retrospective account of a devil's being exorcised by Jesus - an odd persistence of the technique which will be discussed fully below.

The Passion d'Arras is more than twice as long as Semur, with four sessions of about 6,500 lines, that is, about 30% longer each than Semur's. In Arras's first Journée there are no set pieces, nor are there any in the third Journée, while in the second there is only the Temptation of Jesus and in the fourth only the Harrowing of Hell. Extra diableries, however, are very numerous. The first Journée

has four - an "annual progress report" of Satan to Lucifer which is loosely linked to the Annunciation, the bringing to Hell of a witch's soul, a discussion about the Slaughter of the Innocents and the claiming of Herod's soul. All of these except the witch's soul scene coincide with spots which, as we have already seen, were probably already traditional. It is therefore likely that Arras's author, lacking set piece diableries for this Journée and needing several ideas in order to make a balance with the other Journées, adopted established possibilities for the sake of convenience. However this would have left him with nothing to hand for the middle of the session, where he apparently wished to have a diablerie. Just as the author of Semur, faced with a similar problem, made up a diablerie for himself, so does the author of Arras appear to have done with the witch scene, and he went even further in the sense that in this case there is not even the remotest link with the surrounding action, but the scene seems a very obvious "fill-in".

In the second Journée of Arras there is another rather odd extra diablerie shortly before the Temptation of Jesus, then a scene depicting the arrival back in Hell of a devil exorcised from the Canaanite Girl by Jesus, and finally, near the end, the claiming of Judas's soul. The diablerie close to the Temptation of Jesus is perhaps meant as a kind of explanation of how Satan comes to assail Jesus, since it is about the sending of various devils, including Satan, out into the world to tempt; Satan is allotted Judea. The idea that the devils mount such campaigns every year is important in Arras's handling of the devils, and will be discussed in full later. However the next extra diableries seem to be rooted rather in the Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs tradition. The exorcism of Arras is based in detail on the New Testament, but the inspiration probably came originally from the other source, at least as far as the devils' part is concerned, for it will be remembered that among the grievances against Jesus listed there in the pre-Harrowing discussion there normally figures exorcism. An exorcism would have the merit of being spectacular; Semur also has a spectacular, though different,



miracle diablerie at this point in the action, so evidently the idea was appealing and perhaps, in a general way, it was already expected. The directions in Arras say «au commandement de Jhesus le dyable yssi hors de son corps » (l. 7864 - 7865). The last extra diablerie of the Journee, the claiming of Judas's soul, would, as always, have made a moral point at the same time as helping to tidy the stage; however the question does arise as to why it is not preceded, as it is in Semur, by an explanation of the devils' relations with Judas. Instead the devils' involvement is introduced, in the script, rather baldly only when Judas is preparing to commit suicide. On the one hand, we can say that it is very likely that the devils would have mimed some temptation of Judas at an earlier stage, thus making things clear enough in practice - see below for the probable existence of mime alongside scripted diableries. This does not answer the question fully, though, since the brisker Semur does find room to have the devils decide explicitly to tempt Judas. All we can suggest is that the author of Arras felt that, with three diableries already in the Journée, including the long Temptation of Jesus, there was space only for one more, which for practical reasons was best placed at Judas's suicide rather than earlier. The fact that he already had enough diableries planned elsewhere may also be the reason why there is no diablerie either in this Journée at the death of John the Baptist - although the subject is very briskly run through in Arras so as to make way for the development of Jesus's Mission, and it is even possible that the author was not aware of the possibility of a devil-scene at this spot - see below during discussion of different traditions in fifteenth century French Passion plays.

In the third Journée of Arras the problem seems to have been rather the reverse - too much space, not too little. The first extra diablerie, the conventional visit to Pilate's Wife is unremarkable, but the later choices repay closer inspection. They are a scene during the Crucifixion where Satan introduces the game of dice to the soldiers, an unsuccessful attempt to claim the Good Thief's soul combined with the successful

claiming of the Bad Thief's soul, and lastly a sort of "duplicate" fortification of Hell like the one that more immediately precedes the Harrowing in the fourth Journée. Now none of these scenes has a background either in the Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs tradition, or in other plays. Rather their origin is far more likely to lie in structural conditions specific to Arras, namely the effect of spinning out the Crucifixion to fill most of the third Journée and of postponing the Harrowing of Hell until the fourth. As a direct result, there arose a very long gap between the last traditional diablerie before the Crucifixion, the visit to Pilate's Wife, and the next obligatory one to follow, the Harrowing itself. Almost certainly Arras's author felt this gap was too long, and sought to fill it in. In theory, he could have found inspiration in the Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs tradition, for does this not contain the claim by Satan that he himself organised the torments suffered by Jesus during the Passion? Yet use of this possibility may have been ruled out by a second idiosyncrasy of Arras, this time the particular way in which the character of Satan is handled. The commonest state of affairs in the fifteenth century Passion plays in France is that Satan remains in ignorance until the last moment of the implications of Jesus's death, and so goes on plotting against Him until he is at last enlightened by Lucifer and ordered, through his visit to Pilate's Wife, to try to keep Jesus alive. In Arras, though, it is Satan himself, without Lucifer's assistance, who discovers the truth; when he goes to Lucifer before the visit to Pilate's Wife he already knows it and is only seeking advice as to his next move. Perhaps, therefore, Arras's author felt that it would appear ridiculous for Satan to make the Passion worse shortly after being seen to realise that its completion would spell disaster for the devils. Ingeniously, however, he seems to have had the idea of using a contemporary popular tradition which said that it was Satan who gave the soldiers dice with which to draw lots for Christ's robe (see p. 35 above). This allowed him to benefit both from the merits of incorporating a diablerie during the

Crucifixion and, at the same time, from the opportunity that the subject gave to preserve logic in Satan's actions, for it is not a direct attack on Jesus and so does not clash so much with preceding diableries. Popular legend also suggested another idea which is used apparently to fill out the lull which appears at the end of the Journée after the Crucifixion is over, the quarrel between the angels and the devils over the Good Thief's soul, which makes a moral point as well as helping to clear the stage. The claiming of the Bad Thief's soul afterwards was an obvious development from here. Yet even all this rather frank padding-out was seemingly not enough, for the devils round off their Journée with a highly coloured duplicate fortification of Hell, which, spectacle apart, would perhaps also have helped to advertise the next Journée's action and encouraged the audience to return for it. Although it is not, strictly speaking, relevant to structure, it is worth mentioning at this point because it will be useful later that this duplicate fortification is bulked out in itself with a lengthy argument among the devils during which, in an echo of Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs, Satan recalls how he supposedly tempted Judas to betray Jesus. This argument is continued in the Harrowing diablerie of the next Journée, the last, and here mention is also made of the Raising of Lazarus, which it will be remembered was not used for a dramatised diablerie at the time, an exorcism being chosen instead. Very long as it is, this Harrowing diablerie seems to have been felt sufficient for the whole Journée - tending to confirm the suggestion made in relation to the fourteenth century plays that for a single session one spectacular, climactic diablerie could suffice.

The Passion de Greban is even vaster in scope than Arras, not far off half as long again. In the Prologue the set pieces are the Fall of the Angels and the Temptation of Eve. The first Journée, however, has none, but in the second there is the Temptation of Jesus, and in the third comes the Harrowing of Hell. In the fourth and final Journée there are again no set diableries. As in Arras, extra diableries are numerous in Greban. In the Prologue, they occur just after

the Fall of Man and, probably more traditionally, after the claiming of the souls of Abel and later of Adam and Eve. All these scenes take the form of the devils' gloating more or less over their victims and over the implications of the Fall of Man, but in the latter two diableries it is all the devils together who take part. In the first scene, immediately after the successful Temptation of Eve, it is Satan alone who gloats in his personal capacity of anti-Redeemer. Since this scene, unlike the others, has no background in outside tradition, it seems that A. Greban made it up for himself. His motive is unlikely to have been structural, however, since the Prologue is only some 1,700 lines long and has four other diableries; rather it serves to build up Satan as anti-Redeemer, an aspect which A. Greban strongly emphasises in his interpretation of the Passion as drama.

A somewhat similar mixture of probably traditional spots for diableries plus a special solo speech for Satan is seen in the first Journée. Three out of the four extra diableries fall shortly before the Annunciation, after the Slaughter of the Innocents and at the suicide of Herod. Although the details of the content have been completely renewed, it seems quite likely, for reasons that will be given below, that A. Greban took his inspiration for the placing of these diableries directly or indirectly from Arras. However the fourth extra diablerie is not found in Arras; it is a speech by Satan expressing his dismay at the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, again building him up by contrast as the personal anti-Redeemer at a point, not long before the Slaughter of the Innocents spot, where there is no structural call for an "in-between" diablerie.

The extra diableries of Greban's second Journée are: a devil's reaction to being exorcised by Jesus from the Canaanite Girl, all the devils' dismay at the Raising of Lazarus, consisting of speeches by the devils in Hell followed by another solo speech by Satan on earth, then a devils' council ending in the decision to bring Judas into the attack on Jesus, and finally a brief practical temptation

of Judas. Thus, for the first time, both the exorcism and the Lazarus spot have a diablerie attached, whereas in Semur and Arras only one of the two was so treated, and the other linked with the devils by later narrative. On the structural level, there can be little doubt that it is Greban's more leisurely pace at this stage that has prompted the use of two "miracle" diableries, since they can now occur far enough apart not to detract from each other's impact, but rather together enhance the miracle phase of the action in general. It is possible that A. Greban might have taken the idea of the Lazarus spot from its narrative mention in Arras or similar plays, but he could also have known of Semur, or of like plays, and have "blended" the two complementary examples. It could also have been from a Semur-like tradition that he took the idea of the devils' council before the temptation of Judas, since this is absent from Arras. The scripted temptation of Judas is a natural extension of the decision, no doubt encouraged again by A. Greban's more leisurely pace than his predecessors'.

In Greban's third Journée there are several probably by now firmly traditional extra diableries - the devils' claiming of Judas's soul and the visit to Pilate's Wife - plus more of Satan's characteristic "anti-Redeemer" outbursts, one during Jesus's trial and two more during His Passion, one fairly near its start and the other at the moment of His death. At the end of the Journée is found a brisk claiming of the Bad Thief's soul, apparently meant as much to clear the stage as to serve any higher aim. This A. Greban could have found in Arras or similar plays, though it is also possible that he could have known of it from the Montferrand tradition, whose Thieves' soul-claiming is more barely functional than Arras's; since the Montferrand Passion probably came into being at about the same time as Greban, this is not excluded. The most interesting extra diablerie in Greban's third Journée, though, is rather the episode of the introduction of dice to the soldiers by Satan during the Crucifixion. Above all else, this seems to forge a strong link if not with the Passion d'Arras itself, at least, perhaps via a wider tradition of now lost early fifteenth century Passions in that whole area,

with very similar plays, and is the reason that it was suggested earlier that at spots where his choice of diableries follows Arras's closely, such as in the first Journée, A. Greban may have been working from such a tradition rather than from more general sources.

All the diableries of Greban's fourth and final Journée are extra ones, seemingly because the fitting in of the Harrowing to the end of the third Journée had necessarily exhausted the supply of set pieces. It had also finished the stock of traditional extra diableries based on the Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs material, throwing A. Greban back on his own invention. Therefore apparently he drew on the general tempting/soul-claiming mould to make up a sufficient number of devil-scenes attached to suitable points. In this spirit, the devils have a council about how to recover the souls "stolen" from them by Jesus, and Satan reports back later to Lucifer. The upshot is a disastrous expedition against the Ascension, this total humiliation rounding off the role of the devils in Greban.

The Passion de Michel is basically a remaniement of Greban's second and third Journées, but the material is expanded to almost twice its length in Greban to yield four Journées instead of two. Indeed, Michel's first Journée is more than three times as long as the equivalent action in Greban, which is from the Temptation of Jesus up to the execution of John the Baptist, some 2,000 lines in Greban, but 7,000 in Michel. The only diablerie that J. Michel "inherited" from A. Greban in all this was the set Temptation of Jesus, which falls near the beginning. Evidently J. Michel felt the need to insert a second, extra, diablerie later on, for he attaches one to the execution of the Baptist, making the devils react with alarm to his soul's joyful arrival in Limbo. J. Michel may possibly have invented this for himself, because it clearly parallels, in its subject of the devils' being upset by goings-on in Limbo, the Lazarus diablerie of Greban and the beginning of the devil's visit to Pilate's Wife, where Lucifer is alerted that something is wrong by rejoicings in Limbo; at

root this idea is, of course, derived from the Gospel of Nicodemus, where the Harrowing episode starts thus. However Semur did attach a diablerie to the Baptist's death, so it may have become part of a larger tradition whence J. Michel may have adopted it because his text is, as this point, slower than A. Greban's.

In Michel's second Journée the diableries are exactly as in their counterpart in Greban, the first half of the second Journée, but to the diableries taken from the second half into Michel's third Journée, there has been added another scripted temptation of Judas. Here Michel is again slower than Greban, and this, plus the particular desire to depict very fully the inner state of Judas, probably accounts for the extra scene. Yet despite being again slower than Greban in his fourth Journée, which as a whole corresponds to only part of Greban's third, J. Michel has added no new diableries; why not? Quite likely he felt that, as A. Greban wrote in no fewer than nine at this point, this was already sufficient, and more would be too many.

The results of this analysis from Semur and Arras through to Greban and Michel would seem, then, to be fairly clear-cut. As an increasingly slow overall pace of performance pushed the "set pieces" further and further apart inside ever longer sessions, so more and more "extra" diableries appeared to fill up the gaps between them. Eventually, in the vast Greban, this allowed complete phasing out of the retrospective narrative technique for coping with material, such as the exorcism episodes, Hell's reaction to the loss of Lazarus, or the idea that Satan interfered extensively in the Passion, or even the Fall of the Angels, which were variously kept out of full drama by lack of space in Semur and Arras and again, in the latter case, in Michel. It is also likely, however, that at the same time, in a parallel way, the expansion was allowing mime to be converted into full script.

It has already been suggested that mime might have preceded the full scripting of a devil-scene in the early days; there is a considerable possibility that it may have been used by the fourteenth century plays for the visit

to Pilate's Wife (see pp. 38 - 40 above). Thus the idea may have been established before Semur added a script to it. The fourteenth century plays may also have had the devils mime the claiming of Judas's soul; compare G.A. Runnalls' edition of the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, p. 161. Again, a script appears for the first time at this point in Semur.

The fifteenth century texts also contain indications of some mime. In Semur, the temptation of Judas was apparently mimed: the direction is given after the devils have agreed to tempt Judas that then "vadat [CLAMATOR INFERNI] ad temptandam Judeam" (l. 5397 - l. 5398). In Arras, Satan says just before Judas's suicide that «Par moy est conduis et mené» (l. 13111), which, though it is ambiguous and may possibly refer only to Judas's intention to kill himself, might also mean that Satan has been tempting Judas by mime. Later, during the devils' arguments before the Harrowing of Hell, Lucifer accuses Satan clearly: «Car quant Judas Jhesus vendy/ Tu le temptas trois mois entiers» (l. 20761 - l. 20762). Again, this cannot be treated as proof of mime, especially as it is within the great body of "padding" which, for reasons already suggested, surrounds the Harrowing in Arras, and involves numerous assertions probably with no foundation in any practical action, such as that Satan also tempted Pilate himself, Herod and even bystanders at the Crucifixion in his attempt to save Jesus, and so on. However, it is quite possible that the temptation of Judas was, in fact, mimed in Arras, because the idea is much closer to normal tradition than much of the rest of the padding, and it would have helped to bind together the diableries of the second Journée rather more strongly than the script alone does, where, as remarked earlier (p. 52), the claiming of Judas's soul could seem somewhat abruptly introduced. In Greban and Michel, as seen above, the temptation of Judas acquires a gradually fuller script. In Greban the devils mime a temptation of Herod before the Slaughter of the Innocents: «Icy s'en vont [les diables] vers Herode» (l. 7462 - l. 7463), and possibly they did also in Arras, for there Satan tells Lucifer that «Herode ay tant tampté» (l. 5087) and «mis en desroy»

(1. 5096) that he ordered the massacre. In Greban and Michel the devils seem to have approached the Pharisees as well as Judas. Greban and Michel both have Satan resolve explicitly to tempt the Pharisees: «aux princes de la loy m'en vois/ pour les esmouvoir et tempter» (Greban l. 15203 - l. 15204), and «Et me fault esmouvoir les piques,/ haynes mortelles et desroy/ entre les princes de la loy,/ Scribes et Pharisieus» (Michel l. 13979 - l. 13982). In Greban, the Pharisees are later allotted to Berich: «Icy s'en va Berich aux pharisiens et Sathan poursuit Judas» (l. 17464 - l. 17465), but it is only Satan who has script. In Michel, Satan silently seizes Satan from behind during the Last Supper, while «ung petit dyable faint» pops out over Judas's shoulder (l. 18997 - l. 18998). In Semur, Clamator Inferni may tempt the Jews before explicitly tempting Judas, for in l. 5387 - l. 5388 he says that he has tried «De mectre aux Juifz en couraige/ Qu'il le tuent [Jesus] par leur outrage»; later he is chosen to tempt Judas, and he adds to Lucifer's orders to that effect «G'y voix, foy que doit vostre pence,/ Et aussy aux autres Juifz» (l. 5394 - l. 5395). Finally, in Greban, Satan may tempt the Guards of the Tomb, for he reports to Lucifer that «Les chevaliers bien l'adnoncerent [the emptiness of the Tomb]/ et pour tout vray le tesmoignerent/ aux princes de la loy Moyse,/ mes je leur ay tel pusce mise/ en l'oreille et si bien empreinte/ que la nouvelle en estainte» (l. 31962 - l. 31967).

Yet mime would have been much less time-consuming than script. It does seem significant that in many of the above examples a possibly or definitely mimed action in one text corresponds with a scripted one in another, but longer, play, as if the mime had been the best that the shorter text could provide in its limited space.

There are no surviving French Passion plays more leisurely than Greban and Michel which, like them, divide their action into a small number of very long Journées. There is the Passion de Mons (1501), which exists only in the form of the director's copy, giving just the first and last few lines of each episode, but evidently it was a close remaniement of Greban combined with Michel and of about the same length (95). Mons

actually has less diableries than Greban and Michel. It adopts the diableries of Greban's Prologue and first Journée, then those of the second and third Journées of Greban, as combined with the whole of Michel, and finally the diableries of Greban's fourth Journée. There are only a few exceptions: at the end of the Prologue section from Greban, where the latter has the claiming of Adam's and Eve's souls, Mons has two different diableries apparently of its own invention, and in Mons Satan speaks only once during the Crucifixion, the dice episode and the cry of despair at Jesus's death found in Greban and Michel having disappeared. Thus, in total, Mons has one diablerie less than Greban and (over comparable coverage) two less than Michel. Such a small difference is of no real significance.

The most notable late Passion play which is longer than its predecessors is the Passion de Valenciennes (1547), which is some 50,000 lines long (96). It is basically a remaniement of Greban and Michel once again, but shows traces as well of the influence of the Passion of nearby Arras. However there are substantial additions and, what is most important, the action is divided into twenty-five Journées of only about 2,000 lines each - a radically different arrangement from any of its sources. Yet this has not led to any reduction in diableries, quite the contrary, for Valenciennes has some fifty-one of them; short as many of them would have been, most of the days have two or three and a few have more. Since Greban inserts diableries at only twenty-three separate comparable points, it is obvious that, at the structural level, the increase in diableries in Valenciennes is enormous, indeed, it must be said, out of proportion to the general growth of the text: 100% more diableries in just 40% more action. It would be excessively tedious to describe in detail all these new devil-scenes, the more so since it is only their structure that is important here. Structurally, only a few of the new scenes occur in completely fresh material added to the Arras-Greban Michel base - about eight. The great majority arise from an expansion of this base. In other words, Valenciennes seems to have operated fundamentally the same mechanism that we have

been tracing through earlier original plays, whereby the ampler the general treatment of a Passion play's material, the further apart the set diableries will become and the more filling-in between them will be felt necessary. From this point of view, whole series of Journées lie between the set diableries of Valenciennes; in fact, the first of them, the Temptation of Jesus, does not occur until the eighth day, and the second - for there are only two - not until the twenty-second day. Since, possibly for reasons that will be suggested later, the remanieur seems to have felt it necessary to have an average of two devil-scenes per Journée, and even Greban and Michel together can provide a total of about half of the required number, it becomes obvious how the 100% increase in diableries in Valenciennes came about.

Yet it was not inevitable that dividing the action of a Passion play into more and shorter Journées than was the case in Greban and Michel would produce this kind of immense slowing-down of the pace of performance. That happened in Valenciennes only because it had such a large number of short Journées. A complete contrast is seen in the Passion d'Auvergne whose mere seven likely Journées probably gave a total length of just some 14,000 lines.

According to its editor Graham Runnalls, the original structure of the Passion d'Auvergne was probably something like the following:

- First Journée: (The Baptism and Temptation, allowing for lost lines, about 1,500 lines); the Preaching of John the Baptist, the Baptism of Jesus and the Temptation of Jesus
- Second Journée: (Lost); the first part of the Public Life
- Third Journée: (Auvergne A, 1,911 lines); the death of John the Baptist and the continuation of Jesus's Public Life into the "miracle" stage
- Fourth Journée: (Lost); the end of Jesus's Public Life, the Entry into Jerusalem, Jesus's arrest and Trial
- Fifth Journée: (Auvergne B, 2,676 lines); the end of the

Trial; the Crucifixion and Burial

Sixth Journée: (Lost); probably the Resurrection

Seventh Journée: (Lost); probably the Ascension

As we now have it, the Montferrand play has only two set piece diableries, the Temptation of Jesus in the first day and the Harrowing of Hell in the fifth. Apart from these, there are two extra diableries in the third Journée and two also in the fifth. Those in the third Journée are the temptation of Herod and his family before the execution of John the Baptist, and an argument with the angels afterwards over his soul. Since a diablerie also occurs in Semur and in Michel at the latter point, it is possible to suggest that it was traditional; not so the temptation of this (the second) Herod, however. This appears to be an invention of the author of Auvergne A, presumably because he felt that the relatively short John the Baptist's soul scene was not enough devil-involvement for the Journée; at any rate the two together give approximately the same number of lines as occurs in the diableries of Auvergne B, eighty-three lines as compared to fifty, not really a significant discrepancy in terms of the time that they would take to say, but without the Herod scene Auvergne B would have only fifteen. The extra diableries of the fifth day, Auvergne B, are the claiming of the Bad Thief's soul and a quarrel with the angels over the Good Thief's soul - also probably, since they are seen together in Arras and the first on its own in Greban and Michel, traditional possibilities.

However even in the limited text that survives it is apparent that as compared with Arras, Greban and Michel especially, the Montferrand play "passes over" several points for possible extra diableries that these others take up. These points are during an exorcism near the end of Auvergne A and during the Crucifixion. The exorcism contains no indication that any visible devil was in any way involved. The directions call for music to mark the act of exorcism - "Pausa magna cum cilete" - then the victim reacts: "clamet, spumet et post cadat sicut mortuus" (l. 1821 - l. 1822), and that is all.

Auvergne B has no mention of the devils until the Harrowing of Hell. In this case, since there are no diableries in Semur either at this stage, it could be argued that Crucifixion diableries are a special feature of Arras, or of Arras-like plays, and, through this channel, of the Greban/Michel tradition; it will be remembered that there are strong reasons to think that the Crucifixion diablerie in Arras served its own peculiar structural purpose (see above, p. 53). If then, as is perfectly possible, the author of Auvergne was not familiar with such a tradition, there would be no reason why he should consider having a Crucifixion diablerie; indeed, as we have seen in the Passions of Mons and Valenciennes, diableries during the Crucifixion seem to have become rather less common even in the late stages of the Greban/Michel line. However that may be, though, the absence of an exorcism diablerie is a different case, for after a fashion, in retrospective narrative form, this does occur in Semur as well as in fully dramatic form in Arras, Greban and Michel (see p. 50 above). Thus every original fifteenth century French Passion play save Auvergne mentions it, and the only sensible interpretation would appear to be that its author did know of the possibility, but chose not to use it. Why? Again, the only reasonable answer appears to be that he felt less need for extra diableries in between the set ones than did the authors of plays like Arras, Greban and Michel, because the shorter overall length of his text kept the set diableries closer together. This would be supported by the fact that Auvergne contrasts much less with Semur, which is much nearer its own scale.

The theory that the slower the overall pace of performance of a Passion play, the more "extra" diableries will tend to be introduced in between the "set" ones, can therefore account quite well in general terms for the fact that there are indeed proportionately more extra diableries in the increasingly ample Arras-Greban-Michel tradition than in the far brisker Semur and the Montferrand play. What it cannot tell us more exactly, though, is just why a slow pace should have led to

a multiplicity of diableries in these particular cases, for if we look at other contemporary plays of different types in France, or at the cycle plays in England, we discover that the two are not by any means invariably associated.

There are some lengthy French mystères which have a few long sessions and many diableries - for instance the Mystère de Saint Sébastien (97), which, though it is incomplete, comprises 6,600 lines and entails six diableries, and the Mystère du Roy Advenir (98), which has three 5,000 line Journées and as many as twenty-five diableries. There is also a play similar to the Passion de Valenciennes in that it has numerous short sessions combined with many diableries - the Mystère de Saint Martin (99), with six 2,000 line divisions and twelve diableries.

On the other hand, there can be found relatively frequent diableries in plays which are short overall. Such are the 2,000 line Jeu d'Adam (86), which has three, of which only one, the Temptation of Adam and Eve, is unavoidable; the Nativité de Sainte-Geneviève (87), which is of about the same length and (though admittedly it starts with the Temptation of Eve of a kind of prologue) has four diableries; the also short though somewhat fragmentary Jour du Jugement (100), which has six, of which only the Last Judgement itself is unavoidable; a Miracle de Saint Nicolas et d'un Juif (101) of some 1,669 lines which has three diableries; even the Miracle de Théophile (102) which has only 663 lines, still introduces the devil three times.

In contrast to all these, there also occur plays which cover similar ground to parts of the Passions without being necessarily brisker, but which use no diableries at all. Such are the Cain and Abel and Flood plays in the Viel Testament (103), and the Nativity play in the Cangé Miracles de Nostre Dame (104). The English cycle plays fall into this category, although some of them are just as verbose as Arras, Greban and Michel. Set pieces apart, devil-scenes appear only when Herod dies (Chester (105), N-Town (106)), at the Jews' plot (N-Town), when Judas dies (N-Town), and at Pilate's Wife's

Dream (N-Town, York (107)) and during the Antichrist play (Chester).

All this adds up to a seemingly confused state of affairs. However, if one thinks about staging it becomes less baffling. The English cycle plays, for example, were performed on a succession of carts each carrying a single play along a route, stopping in turn at a series of "stations". Each cart would, therefore, have borne only such props and characters as its one play actually needed, and thus only plays which had to involve devil-scenes would have been under any obligation to carry a Hell-mouth and devils. Since props for Hell and costumes for the devils seem to have been among the larger expenses for recorded performances (see below and Chapter II), it would have been natural in such circumstances not to produce any more than strictly necessary. Under ordinary conditions, this would have tended to be true also of the staging, even though it did not use carts, of individual French mystery and miracle plays not involving set devil-scenes. Compare D.C. Stuart, writing of the staging of the Viel Testament: "Day after day the stage must have been set with fewer scenes ... the setting of Hell was surely removed when the action did not need it" (108).

Obviously, the French Passion plays did compulsorily use devils at a minimum of one point, the Harrowing of Hell, and so demanded a certain outlay of money and work in fitting them out. This would give authors, and perhaps even more, producers, a good reason to want to reclaim the best value from them. In fact, it may well be the scale of their staging which is the real key to the greater use of diableries in the vast and verbose Arras-Greban-Michel tradition as compared to the somewhat less ambitious Semur and the Montferrand play.

There is good reason to think that a strong motive in the mounting of many French Passion plays was to augment local, and especially municipal, prestige. Certainly, municipal councils and local worthies were often prominent in the undertaking.

At Montferrand in 1477, the council arranged formally

to hire, supply and pay the carpenters to construct the sets:

Establys personnellement discretz, honnestes et saiges Pierre Albiat, bourgeois, maistre Estienne Godivel, licencié en loix, consulz de la ville de Montferrand, ceste présente annee, pour eulx et pour Jehan Fercheron et Colas Riolet, aussi consulz dudit Montferrand, promettans fere ratiffier le contenu en ces presentes, etc. Lesquelz de leur bon gré etc. ont baillé et baillent par ces presentes a foreffait a Michiel Crestin, Jehan Giolet, Jehan Coraill et Pierre Bicamenteys, charpentiers, a faire les eschaffaulx du mistere de la Passion que lesdiz consuls et ladite ville ont entrepris a fere jouer par les habitans en ladite ville, pour le pris ou somme de XV l. t. et moyennant ladite somme, lesdits charpentiers seront tenus fere les dits eschafaulx ainsi que devisé (explained) leur sera par maistre Guillaume Morichon, docteur, conducteur dudit mistere. Et a esté enconvenence (undertaken) que pour fere les dits eschafaulx, lesdits consulz et ladite ville seron tenuz fournir lesdits charpentiers de tout marain (timber) comme hays (planks?), fustes (beams) et autres choses necesseres, a faire lesdits eschafaulx. Et outre a esté enconveniencié entre les dites parties que lesdiz consulz seront tenus payer esdits charpentiers la moytié de ladite somme qui sont vii l. t. x. s. t. avant la main et le surplus a la fin dudit mistere ... (109)

There follow detailed accounts for the materials and so on used in the building work, plus other items such as money to reimburse individuals who travelled to Riom to obtain the <<orgues>> needed for the musical effects, and to pay the musicians' expenses, even to compensate a stage hand who had an accident with a cannon inside Hell during the performance (110). Similarly, at Chalons-sur-Marne in 1507 local worthies paid for the costume of Lucifer, the actor himself being too poor:

messieurs les abbez, bailly de Chaalons et plusieurs gens de bien dudit Chaalons qui ne jouent point se sont offert et ont promis d'acoustrer a leur despens cellui qui joue le personnage de Lucifer pour ce qu'il est povre et bon joueur (111)

That some performances tended to be actually lavish and ostentatious is indicated, for instance, by descriptions of the Passion at Vienne in 1510, where Hell was said to have been <<merveilleusement somptueux >>, and where the devils changed almost daily into new confections of velvet and satin (112).

At Compiègne in 1539, the actors' costumes were even richer, not only of velvet and satin, but also of silk and cloth of gold, and each distinct from all the others, ((qui estoit chouse admirable et delectave (delightful) a veoir))(113). The 1547 Passion at Valenciennes was very spectacular indeed; according to a contemporary:

Les secrets du Paradis et de l'Enfer estoient tout a faict prodigieux et capables d'estre pris par la populace pour enchantmens ... de l'Enfer Lucifer s'eslevait, sans qu'on vist comment, porté sur un dragon ... les ames de Herode et de Judas estoient emportés en l'air par les diables; les diables chassés des corps ... Icy Iesus Christ estoit eslevé du Diable, qui rampoit (crawled) le long d'une muraille plus de quarante pieds de haut (114)

Indeed, the Passion de Greban itself makes explicit an aim to function as much visually as intellectually: ((Ouvrez vos yeulx et regardez,/ devotes gens qui attendez/ a oyr chose salutaire))(1. 223 - 1. 225). The above examples suggest that, at least sometimes, this visual element became very lavish indeed, and, what is more important here, that Hell and the devils played a prominent part in it. This was probably because they were especially well adapted to exotic costumes and effects, more so than perhaps some other parts of the action. If a Passion, or for that matter any mystère, aimed to be spectacular, then Hell and the devils offered fruitful possibilities.

These remarks must be kept in proportion. As the calculations on p. 46 above showed, there is no reason to suppose that in Arras, Greban and Michel themselves the diableries, whatever the conditions of their performance, actually bulked proportionately larger than they did in Semur or the Montferrand play. It is only in the case of Valenciennes, which is a very late example of the Arras-Greban-Michel tradition, that there is proof of a disproportionate increase in diableries; there is no reason to suppose that this was typical of Passions of this tradition as a whole. A more balanced suggestion would be that an emphasis on the visual side was one of the factors underlying the overall

vastness of the Arras-Greban-Michel type of approach. However it was only when this was coupled with a slow pace of script, as it was, because of session-length, in Arras, Greban and Michel but not in Montferrand, that there arose a sort of call for a greater amount of "exotic" material than the ordinary action could very readily be made to yield; and this need was one that the diableries were peculiarly suited to meet. Nor was this uniquely because of their ability to be spectacular; it was also because they could be fitted in virtually anywhere in the plot without prejudice to the devils' generally agreed serious role in the drama.

Now as we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the view has often been taken by past critics that diableries were apt to be "frivolous", and that their proliferation particularly in the late French Passion plays of the Arras-Greban-Michel type represented an encroachment of "profanity" on what was, originally, a sincerely spiritual purpose. It has already been demonstrated that, at the level of sources, very few diableries can reasonably be regarded as extraneous to the general body of material drawn upon by the Passion plays. However it remains to be shown as well that in their finished state they retain this integrity with their surroundings. It has certainly been argued already that most diableries fall at points which were previously, or which became probably in time, customary, and in this they were no different from nearly all the other types of episode used by the plays. What, though, is the nature of these points?

In many cases the question has already been answered. It should be entirely obvious why the devils are involved in the set pieces such as the Fall of the Angels, the Temptation of Eve and of Jesus, and the Harrowing of Hell, and almost as clear why, in Passion plays, they are frequently brought in to interfere in some sense with the mission of Jesus: it is because the important sources of the Gospel of Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs allotted the devils, with considerable detail, the role of the particular enemies of Jesus and of the Redemption. This is mostly serious, as are

the considerable number of other diableries which are soul-claimings: this was a strongly traditional type of diablerie which was useful for making a general point about the wages of sin, or for setting these against the destiny of the saved. Nearly all the souls claimed in the French Passion plays are those of characters from the Old Testament or the Gospels who play an integral role in the plot at the point in question - Adam, Eve, Abel, Herod, John the Baptist, Judas, the two Thieves. Almost all the non-set temptation type of scenes are likewise focussed on some of these same characters, or at least aimed, through third parties, against them. Since these categories account for nearly all the French Passion play diableries, it is fair to conclude that, at the level of basic subject, all but a very few engage the devils directly if not with Jesus Himself, then with another major figure in the plot and therefore with the immediate circle, spiritual and/or physical, of Jesus.

There is only a handful of exceptions, which are: the discussion that the devils have in the first Journée of Semur about the Flood; the scene in the first Journée of Arras in which Satan presents Lucifer with the soul of a witch; that at the start of the second Journée where Lucifer sends several devils out to tempt in the world; another during the Passion in the third Journée where Satan introduces dice to the bourreaux (a scene also seen in Greban and Michel); and finally the "duplicate" fortification of Hell at the end of the same Journée. Now apart from the last, all these scenes are obviously basically about tempting or soul-claiming; in all but one case they differ from the "mainstream" of devil-scenes only in that they engage the demons less intimately in the main plot, because they concern a minor rather than a major figure close to Jesus or else rely entirely on implication to forge a link, which may moreover be somewhat generalised, not involving specific characters at all. The one scene among them that is not a temptation or a soul-claiming, the duplicate fortification of Arras, is still linked to the Harrowing. Thus only the one scene has no bond at all

with its surroundings: this is the witch's soul claiming scene of Arras, and even this is making fundamentally a serious moral, not a frivolous, point.

Thus, out of the total of some 80 diableries found in the Passion plays under study, it is only 5, or 6%, that are less than firmly attached by subject to the core of the plot, and just one, or 1%, that actually lacks any proper bond at all. Moreover, this tiny minority still uses exactly the same, basically serious, kind of subject as the better integrated majority. This very high rate of close integration at such a large number of different points is proof of how easy it was usually to fit in a diablerie.

The conclusion of this section must, therefore, be that the French Passion play diableries are, in the vast majority of cases, just as fully integrated at the level of external finished structure as they are at the level of basic sources. Does this integration hold good, though, when we go on to look deeper beneath the surface of their ostensible subject at the finer detail within?

E: Two approaches to the devil's serious role in the French Passion plays

As was seen earlier, comparatively few previous critics have considered the role of the French Passion play diableries as a whole as distinct from that of diableries in mystères in general. Those who have attempted it have thought that the serious content is centred on the Harrowing of Hell: thus Professor Owen (p. 5), Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller and Toni Andrus (pp. 6 - 7 above). Yet, at the same time, they have been aware that there is material that does not fit neatly into this scheme. Professor Owen and Toni Andrus seem to see it as merely burlesque (p. 5 and pp. 7 - 8), but Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller is less dismissive. She realises that in the fifteenth century Passions there are interventions of the devil in the action which are quite serious, but nevertheless

which are not connected with the Harrowing, and this leaves her somewhat at a loss. Of Semur and Arras she says:

... si ces mystères nous inventent un diable actif, au rôle multiple et aux interventions fréquentes dans les affaires humaines, l'absence de lien entre cette activité débordante et la donnée organisatrice de la Rédemption nous fait paraître cette activité désordonnée, comme si les contacts des personnages diaboliques avec le monde humain s'effectuaient sans ordre, comme au hasard, sans plan préconçu. (115)

In Greban, she finds the link between the diableries and the Redemption much stronger, but there are still episodes that it fails to involve:

Certes, l'une des fonctions des épisodes infernaux, héritée de ses devanciers, continue à être, chez lui, de pourvoir l'enfer d'âmes tentées par le diable: c'est ainsi que le tentateur enseigne le jeu de dés au soudard Griffon. Ce ne sont pas les scènes les mieux intégrées dans le cours de la Passion. (116)

The Passion de Michel, of course, omits the actual Harrowing from Greban, and also the first Journée, in which it was distantly prepared. In Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller's view this has robbed the diableries of Michel of real involvement in the rest of the play:

On voit ce qu'a perdu Jean Michel en n'imitant, de la Passion de son devancier, que les deuxième et troisième journées, donc en supprimant le Procès de Paradis sans lui substituer quelque scène d'exposition qui aurait fourni un noeud dramatique à l'action, et en retranchant la scène de l'inquiétude initiale des diables, raison de leur détermination à entraver les actes de leur adversaire, auquel ils semblent désormais s'opposer sans nécessité et sans intention arrêtée: c'est en cela que, chez Jean Michel, le monde diabolique semble agir parallèlement au monde du Christ, sans avoir réellement prise sur lui.

(117)

Yet how much evidence is there really for the underlying assumption of all these critics, that the devils' serious role can contribute to the play only if it is connected with the Harrowing or the historical Redemption of Man?

Close examination of our plays actually reveals not one consistent interpretation of the devil's role together with a random assortment of "oddments", but rather two, equally consistent interpretations which between them account for everything. It is most noticeable in the fifteenth century texts which troubled Mme. Gangler-Mundwiller - Semur, Arras and Michel - and also in the Baptism and Temptation, which she did not mention. These tend to explain devil-scenes, outside Holy Week especially, not so much in terms of a campaign aimed exclusively against Jesus and His historical Mission, and so limited to His lifespan and to the Holy Land, but rather in terms of a much wider enmity to all humans in all times and in all places. Greban stands alone in treating this generalised aspect of the devils as very subordinate to the assault specifically on Jesus. This Dominique Gangler-Mundwiller saw as a triumph of dramatic unity (compare p. 7 above), which contrasts with the less rigorous work of his predecessors, the authors of Semur and Arras. Yet traces of a similarly "unspecific" attitude to the devil appear also in the source-poem the Passion des jongleurs, alongside the outline of the devils' plot against Jesus, and this ought surely to alert us to the possibility that we are dealing with something more fundamental than differences in authors' technical skill.

The Passion des jongleurs refers twice to circumstances involving the devil which do not seem to have any link either direct or indirect with Holy Week considered for itself. The author first alludes to the Fall of the Angels when leading up to Beelzebub's visit to Pilate's Wife (see p. 37 above). Then, after the Harrowing of Hell, he gives in l. 3033 - l. 3046 a list of the «mauveises gens que Dieus lessa en enfer» (l. 3032 - l. 3033), consisting partly of universal types, but partly also of overtly medieval ones, such as «Ceus qui n'amoient Sainte Eglise» (l. 3039). However the presence of such things would make sense if the aim was, in part, to present the devil as an evil force for all seasons, not confined to the one particular season that the poem mainly concerns. Nonetheless, the poem still concentrates on the devil's acts in Holy Week

against Jesus. The same balance is found in the fourteenth century French Passion plays which follow the poem quite closely, Palatinus and Sainte-Geneviève: into a concentration on the lifetime of Jesus, especially the Holy Week part, are sprinkled odd references to past or potentially future, at least unspecific time. Sinner-lists occur in Palatinus l. 1314 - l. 1323 and Sainte-Geneviève l. 3953 - l. 3955 and in Palatinus Satan's parting cry is that he is going to Lombardy («A touz jours mais»)(l. 1419).

In Semur, Arras and the Baptism and Temptation, though, the balance is very different. Underlying many diableries is the idea that the devils normally work regular annual seasons of temptation, possession and general evil-doing on earth, at the end of which they are expected to report back to Lucifer in Hell with a "harvest" of souls. Semur and Arras describe the beginning and end of several such all-embracing seasons, as for example in Semur l. 1193 - l. 1212:

CLAMATOR INFERNI

Diabls grans et gros et cours,
Diabls qu'il gettés tempestes,
Diabls aux cornuez testes,
Diabls quil en l'air voulez
Quil maintes personnes affollez (drive mad),
Diabls grands et vous, diabls noir,
Venez tost en nostre manoir (dwelling),
L'Enfer veult tenir ung chappitre.

BAUCIBUS

D'exempcion n'avons pas tiltre,
Nous y alons, puis qu'il ly plait.
Lucifer quil tout bien desplait,
Pour quoy nous mandez vous, beaul sire?

LUCIFER

Pour ce que j'ay au cueur grant ire
Sanglante (hateful) traicte larronnaille.
Vous ne faictes chose quil vaille.
Il n'est ame que pourchassés,
Je croy qu'aux papillons chassés;
Par vous deust croistre ma chevance (tribute),
Et je voy qu'elle desavance (is dwindling).
Ou est le gain que vous me faictes?

Likewise Semur l. 5324 - l. 5397, Arras l. 1111 - l. 1213,

1. 2393 - 1. 2456, 1. 5073 - 1. 5144, and 1. 6705 - 1. 6748. Note that these include Arras's two "superfluous" scenes, which in this context find their justification. Semur, Arras and also the Baptism and Temptation make quite a number of references to past, future or just unspecific time and to places apart from the Holy Land. Semur alludes in 1. 5350 - 1. 5353 to a devil who has worked a season in Asia, Africa and Europe, and in 1. 5332 - 1. 5342 gives a sinner-list:

Se vous avez riens recovré (obtained),
 Il vous en faudra rendre compte,
 S'avés conquis prince ne comte,
 Baillis ne prevosts, ne sergens,
 S'il ont point pillié sur ses gens,
 De dames et de damoiselles
 Et de ces priveez pucelles
 De chambelieres, de norisses
 Quil ont les visaiges si nices (stupid),
 Et de ces liardes (grey) beguynes
 Quil ont tant jeu sus leurs eschines

Arras, as already mentioned, recalls the Fall of the Angels in 1. 14133 - 1. 14146 and again in 1. 20639 - 1. 20651, also the Fall of Man in 1. 14118 - 1. 14121, and it refers in the course of the claiming of the Good Thief's soul to Old Testament figures such as David and Abraham (1. 17607 - 1. 17608). Admittedly, the latter two allusions are found in Nicodemus (and so also in the Passion des jongleurs) (compare p. 32 above where Old Testament miracle-workers are recalled, and p. 34). In the source, though, they are tied to Holy Week in that they foreshadow respectively the Resurrection (via the Raising of Lazarus) and the Harrowing, but in Arras the reference to the patriarchs seems to consider them more as prizes for their own sake than as forerunners specifically of Jesus. Be that as it may, Arras also projects into future time by predicting the Fall of Jerusalem (1. 20789 - 1. 20798) and by listing both eternal and rather medieval sinner-types in 1. 18173 - 1. 18217, 1. 20835, 1. 20870 - 1. 20873. The Baptism and Temptation refers back to the Fall of the Angels and of Man in 1. 602 - 1. 609, and gives a lengthy list of Old Testament figures - such as Cain and David and Uriah - in

l. 636 - l. 643, while in l. 811 - l. 813 it quotes many far-flung lands as being in the power of Satan: Persia, Babylon, Greece, even England, Burgundy and France. Although there is no sinner-list (apart from a passing reference to whores in l. 673), there is an account of Old Testament crimes which the devils claim to have inspired, including the murder of Abel by Cain and the betrayal of Uriah by David. Also in this passage is a description of more timeless generalised evil-doing such as causing personal accidents and major wars and tempting victims to commit the sins of lust, gluttony and avarice (l. 632 - l. 653).

In Michel we see many similar traits, but since some of these appear originally in Greban it is as well to deal with this latter first. Points at which Greban allows the timeless angle to come to the fore as follows. In l. 3893 - l. 3894 Greban mentions that souls are brought in every day to Hell; in l. 7357 - l. 7358 Satan is made to recall Judith, Esther, Rachel and Leah. On the surface this is because they were forerunners of Mary, but at the same time it tends to stretch the imaginative scope of the devil's role back in time. In l. 10654 - l. 10660, in the course of his temptation of Jesus, Satan claims dominion over Europe, Ethiopia, Rome, Greece, Arabia, Asia, Africa, Egypt and Babylon - at that time practically the whole known world. L. 26343 looks forward to the Last Judgement. Indeed, the prologue to the main action ends with Lucifer sending devils swarming over all the earth with the explicit declaration that «tout le monde est a moy donné »(l. 1715).

In Michel, however, certain additions have been made to Greban which bring out the timeless side of the role rather more strongly. At the beginning of the Temptation of Jesus episode, which is his first diablerie, J. Michel makes Satan suggest that when he comes upon Jesus, he is already on a general tempting expedition: «J'avoye cy long temps attendu/ pour cuyder gaigner (try to obtain) quelque praye »(l. 2200 - l. 2201). Later in the same episode, l. 2308 - l. 2313 describe the offering of souls constantly to Lucifer, and l. 2316 - l. 2335

the Fall of the Angels and the devils' subsequent role as eternal evil-doers. (In Semur, too, it is after their Fall that the devils set themselves up as general evil-doers, l. 414 - l. 446.) Michel l. 2764 - l. 2803, during the Temptation of Jesus, recall Old Testament figures such as Moses, David, Elijah, Jezebel; again, it is ostensibly as a precedent for Jesus's own actions, but it also tends to give the devil himself a distant past. L. 3056 - l. 3062 repeat Greban's allusions to distant lands as given above; however Michel also gives a kind of sinner-list in l. 2739 - l. 2741, which extends the idea of general tempting further. Another addition is a scene in Hell after the arrival in Limbo of John the Baptist's soul, which, as will be shown below, is an almost exact parallel to the scenes in Semur and Arras just mentioned in which swarms of devils are sent into the world to tempt in general.

It is thus evident that in none of the French Passion plays under study is the devil's role centred exclusively on engineering the death of Jesus at Jerusalem and so on unwittingly bringing about the Harrowing of Hell. There is always present as well, to a greater or lesser extent, the idea that at the same time the devil is at work in all times and in all places spreading sin and disorder amongst mankind in general. At first sight, these two themes seem simply to go off at a tangent to each other, and the timeless one to go off at a tangent to the rest of the Passion play. Is it, however, possible to find any common logic which would both explain this duality of the devil's role and also integrate it with the rest of the play?

F: The integration of the devil's serious role into the French Passion plays

First we must look in detail at how precisely the devils' general activities and their enmity specifically to Jesus in a particular time and place are dovetailed together in our

plays. It seems best to take the fifteenth century examples first because it is in them that the timeless evil-doing aspect is most fully developed and, consequently, most in need of being explained in relation to the plot against Jesus.

In Semur, the devils set themselves up as general evil-doers, as already mentioned, after the Fall of the Angels, and remain in this role throughout the Old Testament coverage, where all they do is collect the soul of Abel and gloat over the Flood. By the time that they come to claim the soul of John the Baptist, which is after the Baptism of Jesus, there is no sign of any change. The devils clearly do not understand the nature of what the Baptist had been doing; one of them says <<Il me sovyent bien qu'il soloit (was wont to)/ Laver les gens ou flum Jordain,/ J'en ai certes tresgrant desdaing >>(l. 4158 - l. 4160). Another had apparently pursued him for some time: <<Il a plux de dix ans antiers/ Que je le voulsisse tenir >>(l. 4150 - l. 4151); however, they seem to see him as just an ordinary troublesome holy man, for Lucifer's final word on the subject is:

C'est ung homme trestouz veluz,
Il est mout hereux (bristly) et trop plux,
Il n'a vescu que de racines,
Et toujours aloit par espines.

...

Seansouldroit faire le maistre
Quil plux fort de ly ne seroit;
Mectés le la, il me desplait,
Trop est grevables (vexing) (l. 4177 - l. 4185)

There is no indication that Lucifer's attitude to Jesus Himself is any different when, in the next diablerie, he sends the tempter to Him:

Je say bien qu'il a grant deffault.
Il y a .XL. jours ou plux
Que ne manga, dont est conclux (worn out),
Sy le tempte de glotonnie
De vaine gloire et d'anvie,
C'a l'ung des trois ce veult sumectre,
Com mon subject le pourra mectre
Quil le soubmetra a pechier (l. 4226 - l. 4233)

It is true that in the course of the temptation there occur two direct references to Jesus's being Christ, the Son of God (l. 4243 and l. 4253), but these appear isolated and determined by the sources, without follow-up in the scenes set inside Hell. Certainly, at the devils' next clash with Jesus, when He takes the soul of Lazarus back from Limbo, "Anfernus" (almost certainly the same as Lucifer) seems to have no idea of what is happening:

Quil est ceste voix cy tresfort
 Quil l'amainne par son effort?
 Je croy qu'elle vient de lassus (l. 5215 - l. 5217)

During all this time the devils appear to have been pursuing their normal work, because the next diablerie shows the end report of a season. However, it is with the difference that the devils have been finding one particular person, Jesus, especially troublesome. One of them, who has been cast out from a man whom he had possessed, says of Jesus: «Mout contraire nous est sans doute» (l. 5367). Another devil goes on to agree: «C'est celluy quil plus nous debote (rebut),/ Quil nous gaste, quil nous destruit » (l. 5368 - l. 5369). Then he continues: «Mais je le randray malestruit (wretched),/ Car je feray tant aux Juifz/ Qu'il ly estuperont (will cover up?) le viz,/ Et ce ly osteront la vie » (l. 5370 - l. 5373). Yet another devil adds that he has already tried to begin this process: «Maincte fois efforcé me suis/ De mectre aux Juifz en couraige/ Qu'il le tuent par leur outrage,/ Et qu'il le heient com nous faisons » (l. 5386 - l. 5389). Lucifer then orders him to continue by starting to work on Judas: «C'est tout cela que nous chassons./ Or va au cueur Judas bouter/ Et a ses oreilles roter ("din into his ears")/ Qu'il le traïsse sans tardence » (l. 5390 - l. 5393). Thus in the Passion de Semur the devils' plot to kill Jesus arises directly from His interference with regular evil-doing, not out of any proper realisation that He is the Son of God destined to harrow Hell. The nearest that any devil comes to having any such insight is when, during the scene just described, one of them, Mors Inferni, has a rather muddled forewarning of eventual defeat: «Je croy nous y larons l'estorce ("I think we'll have a battle on our hands")./ C'est celluy quil nous a dempnés,/ Et pour nous

pechers condempnés » Even so, Mors Inferni thinks it worth the attempt to kill «Son corps humain» (l. 5380 - l. 5384). Yet for Mors Inferni there is still no reason to think that the main grudge against Jesus is not interference with normal work.

In Arras there is visible a similar process leading up to the decision to engineer the downfall of Jesus, even though there are considerable differences of detail in its handling. Arras begins just before the Annunciation, and the first diablerie follows closely on this. It seems that Satan has been on an ordinary tempting expedition, and is now reporting back to Lucifer. Apparently he has witnessed the Annunciation, but has failed to understand it: «Je croy qu'il a fait ung mistere,/ Duquel je ne puis nullement/ Congnoissance ne sentement (insight)/ Avoir, dont je muerch de despit» (l. 1160 - l. 1163). Lucifer orders him to find out the truth, but also commands him to resume his regular work: «Va, se fay bien ton personnage ("Act well in character")/ Au monde ...» (l. 1183 - l. 1184). The Annunciation is actually never mentioned again, for the next two diableries are concerned only with the results of the next two seasons' work. The first of these is the witch's soul scene, which need not detain us; however the second involves the provocation by Satan of the Slaughter of the Innocents. The manner in which he describes this to Lucifer makes clear that he sees it merely as a triumph in its own right, for he gives a long account of how he tempted Herod with fears of usurpation, and of the numbers killed, but is very vague about the reasons for Herod's fears in themselves: «... il se doubtoit (feared)/ D'un jone enfant qui né estoit/ En sa terre, dont pluseurs gens/ Ont esté pieça (recently) diligens/ De prophetizer qu'il seroit/ Roy des Juys et regneroit/ En Judée comme vray roy» (l. 5089 - l. 5095). The devils then collect the soul of the suicidal Herod, apparently forgetting all about the «jone enfant». Arras's second Journée opens years later, with the Baptism of Jesus, and finds the devils starting yet another general evil-doing season, Satan being ordered to concentrate on the area of Jerusalem (l. 6739). There he encounters Jesus, and tries to tempt Him in the Wilderness. By this time Satan may

have some idea of who Jesus is, for he says that he has "heard" that He is the Son of God: «Or ne sçai-je, pour abregier,/ Qui tu es, fors que par oy dire/ Qu'on dit que tu es fils du hault sire/ Qui maint (dwells) lassus en trinité» (1. 6850 - 1. 6853). Certainly, during the Temptation, Satan refers twice to the fact (1. 6854 - 1. 6855, 1. 6910). Yet even if Satan does realise who Jesus is, he apparently fails to grasp the implications. After being dismissed by Jesus, he is far more concerned for his own humiliation and Lucifer's anger than for any precise future danger:

Chetis, dolans, or viles crapaux
 Que je suis quant par mon engin (ingenuity)
 Je ne puis mie faire enclin
 Un home seul a mon voloir,
 Tant estudier ne sçavoir,
 Que sçavoir puisse nullement
 Qui il est ne quoy ne comment,
 Se c'est ou divine ou humaine!

...
 Encore suis je mieulx trompé
 Que tant y ay mis m'estudie,
 Et aussy je n'oseray mie
 Devers Lucifer retourner (1. 7010 - 1. 7023)

For the future he has only a vague sense of foreboding:

Oncques mais chose ne trouvay
 Dont je fusse si espantés (frightened).
 Plains sommes de maleuretés (troubles)!
 Et sans faulte il nous mescherra (will turn out badly),
 Je me doute tres fort desja
 Car je n'y sçay plus tour ne voie (1. 7030 - 1. 7035)

The upshot is that, having been unexpectedly reprieved by Lucifer, who merely dismisses him without so much as asking why he has no souls to offer him, Satan decides on his own to avenge himself on Jesus by causing his downfall and bringing Him down to Hell:

Garde soy qui à garder s'a.
 J'yray tant de ça et de là
 Que aulcunement attrappay
 Celui par qui ainsy je ay
 Esté mocquiés et estarnis (routed?),

Et se tant fait quil soit mal mis,
Je l'attraineray en infer (l. 7047 - l. 7053)

In this way, by making the usual offering of a soul, Satan hopes to be restored to Lucifer's favour: «Par tant no maistre Lucifer/ Qui est courciez moult grandement/ Me pardonra son matalent (annoyance)»(l. 7054 - l. 7056).

Satan does not act at once, however, against Jesus, for by the time of the next diablerie, in which Cerberus is cast out of the Canaanite Girl, he is still apparently in Hell. The arrival of Cerberus is revealing for the terms in which Jesus is described: «Ung prophete m'a hors bouté/ D'une fille que tourmentoie./ Des long temps je le possessoie »(l. 7893 - l. 7895). Lucifer's reaction is the even more confused: «Tost, tost, bien tost, frumez no portes!/ C'est Dieu le pere qui revient! »(l. 7909 - l. 7910). Thus clearly neither has any proper idea of who Jesus is, and Cerberus encountered Him by chance on normal duties.

Eventually Satan does put his plan into effect, by using Judas, whom he has «bien a mon command »(l. 13099) to cause Jesus's supposed downfall. There is no trace in the text that he is actually seen to tempt Judas, for he does not appear in the script until he comes to claim Judas's soul, but the temptation could possibly have been mimed (see above, p. 59). At any rate, we see that the mechanism used by Arras to link the generalised devil-activities with the plot against Jesus is fundamentally the same as in Semur: it is because of a clash or clashes with Jesus arising from regular work that the devils, in frustration, decide to use Judas to bring about His downfall.

As far as can be told from the fragmentary state of its text, the situation in the Montferrand play was similar. The first diablerie is the Temptation of Jesus, and this starts with Lucifer's calling a council of the devils, beginning with the news that «Haro, se prophete Jhesus/ Au desert fait grant penitence »(l. 571 - l. 572). Thus Lucifer still sees Jesus as a "prophet" and not as Messiah, yet more threatening than

any known before, for he describes His exceptional purity and John the Baptist's awe (l. 573 - l. 580). What really worries Lucifer, however, is what he knows about Jesus's Mission: «Et lors entre eulx ont conclus/ Que Jhesus/ Sanctiffieroit toutes gens» (l. 581 - l. 583). Obviously this is a threat to the devils' routine work: Satan warns Lucifer that if he does not counter it, «tu perdras tous tes enfans» (l. 587). The remedy decided on is to tempt and corrupt Jesus: «Que si nous mectons peine grant/ A tempter ce prophete Jhesus,/ Je croy que tost sceras confus/ Et le tirerons ad nous liens» (l. 612 - l. 615). Two devils tempt Jesus, with the usual, but as before ritual, references to His being the Son of God (l. 729). However as soon as he arrives back in Hell, Asmo cries out: «... tant est parfaict/ Se propheete Jhesus» (l. 829 - l. 830), which shows that after all he still supposes Him to be a mere prophet.

We cannot know how the Montferrand play in this form, a late remaniement (see p. v above), would have carried the devils' role on into Holy Week, since the earlier Auvergne is not necessarily the same in every detail. In Auvergne A, the devils are engaged in tempting Herod's family and trying to claim John the Baptist's soul, and do not once mention Jesus; as noted earlier (see p. 63), they do not clash with Him over an exorcism which falls near the end of the Journée. It could be argued that in Auvergne, therefore, the devils have simply put Jesus out of their minds. Possibly then, if the original first Journée of Auvergne was not after all so very different from the Baptism and Temptation as we now have it, the overall attitude in the Montferrand play might have been not so unlike that in Semur and Arras, in that the devils took no special interest in Jesus outside Holy Week save for the unavoidable Temptation. Yet in the Baptism and Temptation they do show awareness of the threat posed to them by Jesus's evangelical activities - but not by the Harrowing of Hell. Between Greban and Michel too there is visible a difference of emphasis between these two aspects of Jesus.

Throughout the whole lifetime of Jesus in Greban the devils strive to stop the Harrowing, starting before He has

even been born. The first diablerie of the first Journée shows Lucifer, hearing the pleas to God of the souls in Limbo, worried that somehow, some day, their prayers will be answered: «... mes je doute/ ung point, qu'aucun ne les delivre/ ou qui que soit confort leur livre/ pour nostre puissance defaire » (1. 3886 - 1. 3889). Satan confirms that the Scriptures do in fact predict «... qu'ung fort roy s'eslievera/ qui nostre enffer despoullera » (1. 3931 - 1. 3932). Imagining that this "strong king" can mean only an entirely righteous human being, «(homme de vertu si parfaite/ que par luy deust estre reffaicte/ la transgression des humains » (1. 3951 - 1. 3953), Lucifer then despatches Satan to the earth to search for such a person. If he should find him, he is to corrupt him so as to render him unfit for his mission:

car se tellement peust myner
 que par peché soit corrompu
 cest homme, son fait est rompu:
 car quelque rançon qu'il assigne,
 riens n'y vaudra, il est indigne
 a faire satisfacion (1. 3956 - 1. 3961)

Satan spends the rest of the play up to the Raising of Lazarus struggling in vain to prove whether or not Jesus, whom he discovers on earth as an infant, is indeed this Redeemer, and striving at the same time persistently to corrupt and harm Him. When Satan first comes across the infant, he does not understand anything about Him, and is very suspicious: «s'ay grand doute d'estre deceu » (1. 7145). The Slaughter of the Innocents is planned to dispose of Jesus specifically: Satan knows that Herod has heard, as he himself has, that prophets have said that Jesus is the Redeemer: «... le bruit vole maintenant/ que c'est Christus propre venant/ pour tous les humains racheter » (1. 7370 - 1. 7372). Therefore:

Ung point luy avoye encorné (put in mind):
 que tous les enffançons petis
 de Bethleen et des partis
 par mort destruit et exillast,
 affin qu'entre eux celluy trovast

qui le roy des Juifz se porte (1. 7440 - 1. 7445)

Obviously, this ploy fails, and Jesus survives to begin His fast in the Wilderness, where Satan finds Him and flees in fright to Hell. He describes Jesus thus to Lucifer: «Ung jour doubte qu'il ne soit ange,/ et l'aulture fois mon propos change,/ et me doubte d'une aulture somme,/ qu'il ne soit Dieu en forme d'homme/ veue la sainteté qu'il tient,/ et briefment ma raison maintient/ qu'il est quelque chose bien haulte» (1. 10504 - 1. 10510). The aim of the Temptation of Jesus is as much to discover Jesus's real nature as it is actually to corrupt Him: «Par mon conseil on le tentra/ par trois ou par quatre façons,/ affin au moins que nous sachons/ s'il est Dieu, homme ou aulture chose» (1. 10551 - 1. 10554). Afterwards, however, Satan is no wiser than before: «je ne sçay que conclure» (1. 10703). The upshot is that he is ordered to keep an eye on Jesus: «de le poursuivre ne sejourne,/ et souvent par de ça retourne/ pour nous rapporter des nouvelles» (1. 10714 - 1. 10716). There follow, as in the other plays, a series of clashes between the devils and Jesus during His Public Life, culminating in the Raising of Lazarus. This convinces Lucifer that Jesus is indeed, as was suspected, the future harrower; in Hell he says: «par ces fais il est manifeste/ que c'est propre celluy Cristus/ qui par ses divines vertus/ doit racheter l'humain lignage» (1. 15126 - 1. 15129). However his reaction is to order the gates of Hell barred and guarded: «Cerberus, songne de ta porte» (1. 15156). On earth, Satan decides to bring about Jesus's downfall, and here, for the first time in Greban's main text, there is a glimpse of concern that Jesus in His Public Life is interfering with the devils' prey of living sinners:

il presche, il jeune, il se travaille,
il fait miracle, il fait merveille;
encore de nouvelleté
Lazaron a ressuscité

...
Il n'est moyen que j'y congnoisse
pour ravoit mes loix coustumieres
sinon de trouver les manieres
que ce Jhesus soit mis a mort,

car tant a moy nuyre s'admort (is keen),
 que tout pers se je n'y pourvois (l. 15181 - l. 15201)

In this way the events of Holy Week are set in train. On balance, it is obvious that the devils' fear of the Harrowing of Hell has been a stronger factor in their campaign against Jesus than dread of His effect on living sinners. In Michel, however, certain additions to Greban tend to alter the picture somewhat.

For instance, in the council prior to the Temptation of Jesus, which is Michel's first diablerie and so that play's devils' first opportunity to discuss Jesus, Satan warns specifically: «si de bref nous n'y pourvoyons,/ car, par ses vertueux sermons,/ tant de pecheurs convertira/ que tout nostre enfer destruyra/ et y a ja bien commenc » (l. 2331 - l. 2335). It is as much to forestall this as to find out Jesus's true nature that Satan suggesting tempting Jesus; Greban's lines l. 10551 - l. 10554 (Michel l. 2354 - l. 2357) follow on after. Part of the Temptation itself is angled towards corrupting Jesus's Public Life, for the feat of throwing Himself off the Temple is suggested not just so that the angels can save Him, but also so as to impress the common herd and render them more likely to accept His teaching:

allons toy et moy, je te prie
 sans plus tarder sur le pinacle
 du temple pour faire miracle
 et monstrier que a la verit 
 tu es de grande auctorit .
 La prescheras, la voyrra (n)on
 que tu es de bien grant renom,
 de graces et de vertuz plein (l. 2895 - l. 2902)

Likewise the temptation of avarice is interpreted specifically to mean that if Jesus acquires wealth, He can more easily take up His place as King of the Jews: «... il te faudroit/ avoir or, argent et puissance/ et prendre de moy l'aliance,/ si tu vouloyz regner sur eulx » (l. 3019 - l. 3022). Again, when John the Baptist's soul brings news of the presence of Christ on earth, Lucifer worries mainly about living souls:

«Haro, dyables, qu'on y pourvoye!/ Pour ung juste qui meurt en grace,/ faictes tant par vostre fallace (deceit)/ qu'il en meure cent en peché»(l. 7832 - l. 7835). Again, when Lucifer and Satan are deciding to use Judas to cause Jesus's death, J. Michel makes Lucifer specify that not only must Jesus Himself be wiped out, but also all His works to date:«... tous les biens qu'il a fais/ soyent estains ... et deffais»(l. 17323 - l. 17324). Thus in Michel it seems that Jesus's conversions of numbers of living sinners count against Him with the devils as much as does the fear that He will rescue the dead fathers from Limbo.

Also relevant in this context is some of the devils' behaviour in certain plays during the actual Crucifixion or after the Harrowing of Hell. In Semur, after the Harrowing, the devils at first quarrel, as they do in the old sources, but then one suggests that they should make good their losses by resuming the work of general tempting and soul-claiming:

Mes je vous trouveray maniere
 Comant recouvreray arriere
 Les ames de l'umain lignaige.

...
 J'ay sept chevaliers bien apri
 Par lesquieulx je les randray pris
 En vous chartres ... (l. 8760 - l. 8768)

Obviously, this refers to the seven deadly sins. In Arras, Satan attends the Passion, and by this time he is, of course aware that Jesus is destined to harrow Hell. However his main worry is still apparently that he is failing to keep up his expected flow of souls to Hell, which will anger Lucifer. He is therefore quick to seize the opportunity that presents itself when one of the bourreaux wanders up looking for some way of playing for Jesus's robe:«Qui est cilz qui vient en ma voie?/ C'est ung Juifz qui a grant haste,/ S'agrapper le puis de ma patte/ En infer le volray porter»(l. 16341 - l. 16344). Satan proceeds to introduce the man to dicing - using, it is true, an interpretation of the meaning of the six faces which is offensive to God in all His aspects, including the Son; but as a whole the incident does not really seem to be meant as an

attack on Jesus, but is rather a resumption of Satan's old work of general corruption. Arras's devils next claim the Bad Thief's soul, and try unsuccessfully to claim the Good Thief's - again a continuation of their previous role. In fact, the aim of the episode in Arras seems to be to demonstrate the devils' real surprise and dismay when St. Michael informs them that the death of Jesus has wrought a definitive change in the old status quo, in that the devils can no longer claim the souls of the penitent. The impression is that the devils expected the situation to continue as before. After the Harrowing, Arras admittedly appears to cut devil-activities short for the future, in that Jesus shuts all the devils, not just Satan, inside Hell and forbids them ever again to go to the earth to tempt: «Je vous deffens que nul de vous/ Ne voist plus au monde tempter/ N'en mer, n'en terre converser (dwell)» (l. 21019 - l. 21021). However this is probably just a rather drastic version of the "binding" of Satan described in the sources, perhaps encouraged by the fact that the Harrowing is the last diablerie of Arras, which was perhaps felt to require a suitably satisfying finale; set against all the other times when the devils are treated in a historically unlimited way, it is most likely not meant to be taken absolutely literally - the more so as this would actually be unorthodox. The Passion de Greban also includes the dice diablerie during the Crucifixion, probably, as said before, under the influence at some level of Arras, but the signs are that the so far quite strictly Harrowing-orientated A. Greban was rather at a loss as to how to account for it; certainly he introduces it in an uncharacteristically vague way:

Changer me fault habillement
 et muer ung peu ma figure,
 affin que malice procure
 contre ce meschant qui s'en va:
 se le deable ne le couva
 je luy feray tantost injure (harm) (l. 25700 - l. 25705)

However after the Harrowing A. Greban shows no such unsureness, but presents a resumption of soul-claiming as a quite natural way for the devils to pull themselves out of despair:

ce qui est perdu est perdu;
mes penssons bien au residu,
de le garder mieulx qu'il pourra.

...

Or y perra ("Let's see")
qui fera meilleur ambassade.
Sathan, va faire une passade (quick trip)
et rapporte, se tu me crois,
ces deux larrons qui sont en croix:
ilz ne peuvent longuement vivre (l. 26410 - l. 26418)

However this still concerns only dead souls. After Satan has discovered the fact of the Resurrection, though, and has realised that, after all, Jesus's death has not ended His impact on the living, the devils' interest in these is renewed and strengthened. Satan sets out to try to check the spread of the faith:

car alors trouvoy les sentiers
de corrompre les chevaliers
et dire de communs accors
qu'on leur avoit emble (stolen) le corps;

...

... jamès Juif n'y croira,
et ainsi Jhesus demourra
sans peuple qui le veille ensuivre (l. 31968 - l. 31976)

Admittedly, the very last diablerie of Greban shows the devils being cheated of the souls of the dead fathers from Limbo as these ascend with Jesus to Heaven, but, on balance, it remains true that after the historical Harrowing is over A. Greban does begin to give greater prominence than before to the devils' concern about the present, and, by implication, the future living.

J. Michel follows A. Greban in introducing the dice diablerie at the Passion, but in his work its purpose seems rather clearer. To A. Greban's text J. Michel adds a sort of thumbnail sketch of the future of gambling fever, as though as a general moral warning:

car les detz sont d'os bien petiz
qui esguisent les appetiz
des joueurs par telle chaleur
que tousjours tourne le malheur
sur quelque ung ... (l. 28182 - l. 28186)

Michel rounds off its diableries, after the fortification of Hell in preparation for the omitted Harrowing, by having Satan claim the Bad Thief's soul, thus resuming his old role of universal soul-claimer.

In Auvergne, the devils at this same stage, after the Harrowing, claim first the Bad Thief's soul, then find to their dismay, rather as in Arras, that they cannot have the Good Thief's too. The final effect is therefore not so much that the devils have been defeated over the custody of long dead souls in Limbo, but that they have also been defeated over ownership of the penitent living sinners' souls.

Throughout all of the above material there is thus a sort of understanding that before Jesus came on the scene and again afterwards, the devils carried on with their general work in much the same way as always; Jesus's lifetime is, at the least, an unwelcome interruption to them, and, at the most, an unfortunate phase to be got over as quickly as possible and compensated for as vigorously as they can in the future. This is not to deny that there is an important difference in the treatment by early and later fifteenth century texts of the subject of the devils' attitude, in their capacity of general evil-doers, to Jesus. In the earlier plays, Semur, Arras and possibly the version of the Montferrand play represented by Auvergne, the devils have no special understanding of or even interest in Jesus's evangelical acts - hence in Arras and Auvergne their inability to claim the Good Thief's soul comes as an unpleasant surprise. In Greban, on the other hand, the devils are not unaware of this part of the threat; indeed, it is brought forward to be the very reason why Satan finally decides to kill Jesus, and after the Harrowing is over it grows in importance. In Michel and the Baptism and Temptation probably too, the evangelical side seems actually to be the primary consideration.

To a large extent this increasing stress in the devil-scenes on concern with the living, including potentially the future living, is linked with changes in emphasis in the Passion plays as a whole. For general religious reasons,

there arose in the later fifteenth century an enhanced interest in Jesus as a continuing spiritual example for the living rather than as just a remote historical figure, and Michel especially shows the influence of this trend. The choice of coverage, cutting out the Old Testament and above all the Harrowing itself, focusses the attention sharply on the life of Jesus. Numerous sermons by John the Baptist and Jesus Himself interrupt the flow of the historical action, as do lengthy instructive developments of the personal lives of the contrasting sinners Mary Magdalen, who repents and is saved, and Judas, who relapses and is lost. Obviously the attitude that the devil concerns himself most with hauling in as many sinners' souls as possible in all times and all places is better attuned to this kind of background than it is to a much more narrowly historical account of Jesus such as is seen earlier in the century and still in Greban. This is, therefore, probably a strong reason why Michel and the Baptism and Temptation are able to have their devils "home in" more strongly on the person of Jesus even while He is still alive.

Yet technical skill is also undoubtedly a factor, as we can see in A. Greban, who adjusts the devils' concerns between custody of the fathers in Limbo and mastery of the living on earth according to the stage that Jesus's Mission has reached. There does not seem to be any reason why the authors of Semur and Arras should not have managed to do the same, except a lack of the same level of skill at drama. Yet should "drama", "artistic satisfaction", really be the criterion for judging these things?

It seems to me that morally, from the point of view of onlookers, it makes little difference whether a link is made explicitly or not in the diableries between the description of timeless evil-doing and the activities specifically of Jesus. If a link is made, it makes the devils seem more intelligent - although we shall see that this can create other problems. However surely the plays would have made it obvious enough that there was a clash of interests between Jesus in His Public Life and the devils without continually stressing it in

detail in the diableries themselves. For one thing, the very layout of the set in performance, in which (see the next Chapter) it seems to have been habitual to place Heaven at one side and Hell on the other, with the earth in between, would have symbolised unmistakably the underlying moral dynamic of the action. The living human world would be seen physically to be in dispute between the rival agencies of good and evil, between Jesus and the devils, regardless of whether the devils actually realised and announced this fact for themselves. To this extent it should be remembered that the text of the Passion plays does not represent the whole of their message as contemporaries would have received it. It may, indeed, be the nub of the problem of the devils in the Passions that past critics have made assumptions about what their role "ought" to be which are based more on the later theories of their own time and environment about "drama" than on what medieval people themselves expected of these plays.

For example, the fact that the usually strictly historical Greban rather suddenly picks up the thread of concern about living sinners to provide Satan's motive for engineering Jesus's death, surely merits a proper explanation. If the thoughtful and skilful A. Greban considered this aspect of the devil's enmity to Jesus important enough to intrude it into his so much admired concentration on preparing the Harrowing, we should ask ourselves why. Can we really afford to be so sure as critics have tended to be that all Passion plays revolve around the "drama" of Holy Week culminating in the Harrowing?

After all, it was pointed out many years ago by Gaston Paris and Gaston Raynaud, the first editors of Greban, that the subject of the Passion of Jesus is, by its very nature, undramatic:

Tout drame suppose une lutte. Dans le récit de la Passion, il n'y a en réalité pas de lutte, puisque le héros, d'après le dogme catholique, va volontairement au supplice et n'est même devenu homme que pour atteindre ce but ...

(118)

This has deep implications for the devils' role. Firstly, it means that no true conflict arises between Jesus and the devils when they plot His death if they do so with the aim of preventing the Harrowing of Hell, for Jesus has to die in order to accomplish this. Thus the devils are in reality serving God all along, whatever they themselves may imagine, and, of course, with so universally known a story, the audience would have known this. Therefore even in Holy Week itself a devils' role centred on stopping the Harrowing by killing Jesus cannot accurately be called "dramatic". Secondly, the further the action moves away from Holy Week the slacker and more aimless such a devils' part will become. The devils will risk appearing merely to be "marking time" until they can engage effectively with their enemy at last - precisely the situation that threatened to arise in the fifteenth century French Passion plays which did extend their coverage beyond Holy Week. Might it cast new light on the fifteenth century diableries if we considered them as a response to this risk?

Indeed it can do, from two points of view. Firstly, it helps to explain why almost all the Passion play authors, but especially A. Greban, devote time to setting out the reasons that the devils take so long to act effectively against Jesus, as though they themselves were aware that some kind of justification was needed. They use the idea that at first the devils are too confused to realise how dangerous Jesus is to them. In itself, this theme was well-known at the time; it occurs, for instance, in a sermon of the Englishman John Myrc, which is worth quoting because it puts the point so clearly:

For, yf he [the Devil] had knowen hym redely (well-advisedly) that he [Jesus] had comen forto by (buy) monkynd out of his bondam (bondage), he wold never have tysut (enticed) mon to have don hym to deth. This was also the cause why oure lady was wedded to Joseph, forto deseyve the fende (fiend), that he shule wene (should believe) that he was his fadyr (father) and [that he was] not conseyyet of the Holy Gost (119)

Similarly, in the Passion des jongleurs, Infernus rebukes Satan for attacking Jesus without having previously checked out His nature: «Prismes deusses tu avoir/ Enquis de Jhesu pour savoir/ Se il estoit sanz corpe ou non »(l. 2827 - l. 2829).

We have already seen above (pp. 74 - 90) that Semur, Arras and (probably) the Montferrand play take the view that, prior to Holy Week, the devils mistake Jesus merely for a pious troublemaker or, at the most, for a prophet, and that in Greban and (though less emphatically) in Michel, the devil-scenes do no more, at this level, than harp persistently on the demons' failed efforts to fathom Jesus's nature - which at bottom amounts only to a more sophisticated explanation of the same mechanism of misunderstanding.

Almost all of these texts, and indeed almost all of the fourteenth century ones, develop the devils' confusion over Jesus within Holy Week itself. In the fourteenth century plays, which are following sources closely, two devils discuss Jesus, seemingly for the first time, just before the Harrowing, with one or both now regretting the decision to kill Him which one of the speakers admits to having taken earlier (Palatinus l. 1235 - l. 1313, Sainte-Geneviève l. 3948 - l. 3968). It is possible that this impression of muddle would have been deepened by a mimed visit to Pilate's Wife in a last-minute bid to save Jesus from death (see above, pp. 36 - 40). In Semur, however, this very visit may have given even the author himself a problem; certainly, in this text there is much confusion not all, perhaps, exactly intentional. As seen earlier, Semur's devils, including their chief Lucifer, make a collective decision at the start of Holy Week to seek Jesus's death, and one Clamator Inferni is sent to set this in train (p. 79). Later, though without any explanation, this same Clamator makes the visit to Pilate's Wife, presumably on the example of some other text like the Passion des jongleurs, if not the poem itself. Just before the Harrowing, however, there enters Satan, who has never appeared before, to announce

that he arranged Jesus's death, at which news the chief devil, whose name has now been altered to "Infernus", seems horrified. This scene is apparently based too on the traditional sources; but why the sudden introduction of Satan and the term "Infernus" for the chief devil? In fact, this "Infernus" has been used before, just before the Raising of Lazarus, when the chief devil is made to wonder what is going on when the soul of Lazarus is taken back from Limbo; since after l. 8769 the name switches back to Lucifer, it could be argued that the two are simply alternatives used by a single author at different times. Yet "Satan" is hardly an alternative for an already familiar devil, and the attitude he takes is blatantly contradictory to the impression given by the earlier devils' council, that it was Clamator Inferni who took on the attack on Jesus. It really looks arguable that there has been some remaniement of Semur, and that what we are seeing here is in fact the work of more than one hand - an impression that tends to be strengthened by an analysis of the points at which "Lucifer" and "Infernus" are switched over (see discussion of role distribution in Chapter II, pp. 145 - 146). At the same time, it is fair to say that the Passion des jongleurs itself does not successfully integrate the idea of the visit to Pilate's Wife with the later confrontation of Satan and Infernus (see above, pp. 37 - 39). Therefore it is just possible that this aspect of Semur is the work of a single, though very unsure, hand. However that may be, the fact that Arras handles the problem much more smoothly could be interpreted to mean that it is of slightly later date - this is one of the pointers referred to in the Introduction, p. iv. The premise of the better co-ordination of Arras is, ironically enough, partly the generalised approach to devil-activities which it actually shares with Semur, but it is partly also because, unlike Semur, Arras has Satan present from the first and is able to turn this to good account. The idea is that after any bad season, when he has no souls to offer Lucifer, Satan tries to avoid his master in case he is punished - and this is just what he does after his defeat by Jesus in the Wilderness, disturbed as he is about what he has

found. Thus it was a simple matter to place the decision to kill Jesus here too, and neatly account for Lucifer's not knowing anything about it (see above, pp. 81 - 82), and just as easy to keep Satan and Lucifer in non-communication about it until Pilate's Wife's Dream. At this point, however, the author of Arras (or his unknown predecessors) seems to have decided that it would be better to depart from the sources, and involve Lucifer as well as the actual giver of the dream in the dawning of the truth about the results of Jesus's death. This was presumably because, as the Prince of Darkness himself, Lucifer had to be shown to have the best brain among the devils, if not the best organisational ability. Thus in Arras Satan suddenly realises that Jesus must not, after all, die, and in a panic consults his master, who sends him to Pilate's Wife and assumes command from then on of the defences against Jesus. This did not rule out subsequent accusations and counter-accusations as the Harrowing approached, of course, for these are more fully developed in Arras than in any other text. Greban seems to have adopted something of this interpretation too. Despite their history of working together to investigate Jesus, nevertheless Greban's Satan resolves on his own to kill Jesus after a disaster (the Raising of Lazarus), and Lucifer is not informed. Yet he does endorse the plan only a little later, before the temptation of Judas - presumably because A. Greban felt that all the devils, and especially the Fallen Archangel, should be involved in the mechanism of the Redemption. His idea throughout his play is that the devils fail not because they lack the ability to organise themselves or to think, but because their thinking is inadequate, no match for God's. Thus it is appropriate that Lucifer himself should be made to realise this:

Deables, vous n'estes point subtilz:
 autrefois vous ay fait enquerre
 se Cristus estoit né en terre
 dont tant de livres sont escripz,
 et après arguz et estrifz (disputes)
 fut dit que pour cause certaine
 cil qui jeuna la quarantaine
 estoit Cristus et le monstroit
 par les haulx faiz qu'il demonstroit

passans les oeuvres de nature;
 or ne sçay je se d'aventure
 il est mort ou mis a martire,
 et puis venist de fresche tire (without delay)
 delivrer tous nos prisonniers? (1. 23310 - 1. 23323)

Satan immediately arrives back from the earth, gloating over precisely what Lucifer fears, and in this way A. Greban is able to preserve in a different position the traditional humiliating confrontation between Satan and his master in Hell. To add further to the devils' spectacle of discomfiture, A. Greban gives Satan a speech during the Crucifixion in which he bewails his own incompetence, and, in his turn, J. Michel develops this particular aspect because he places especial emphasis among the devils on Satan as the anti-Redeemer active on earth in rivalry to Jesus. J. Michel makes Satan admit only at the point of Jesus's death that he has recognised His true divinity:

Ce Jhesus qui est mort, en somme
 c'est Dieu qui c'est voulu faire homme,
 c'est le filz de Dieu triumpant:
 je le congnoys bien maintenant,
 jamais ne l'avoys au vray sceu (1. 28403 - 1. 28407)

The situation in the Montferrand play is harder to deal with because of the fragmentary text and because the Baptism and Temptation probably represents a later version of the play than Auvergne A and B, and so was not necessarily using exactly the same approach, as pointed out earlier. However it is clear enough from what we do have that in both the Baptism and Temptation and Auvergne A the devils show no awareness of Jesus's real nature, since in the first they take Him for a "prophet" and in the second they do not mention Him at all (see pp. 82 - 83). Auvergne B begins, after some lost lines, with Pilate's Wife waking from her dream - therefore, since any devil's part would be among the lost material, we are deprived of the opportunity to know what reasons the devil might have given for wanting to save Jesus. The next devil-scene is the Harrowing itself, and this starts with Satan announcing to Lucifer that «... ce Jhesus, qui a pris mort,/

est homme Dieu. Las, quel remort! / Il vient seans pour nous guaster tous 》(1. 3263 - 1. 3265). This could be a fresh discovery; it is possible that, rather like Semur, Auvergne did not properly integrate Pilate's Wife's dream with the rest of the traditional material as did Arras, Greban and Michel by transferring the devils' discovery of the truth about Jesus to before the dream, but left it at the Harrowing. If so, it would suggest again that Auvergne was working independently from the primary sources.

The more important point, however, is that irrespective of how precisely it is done, all of the French Passion plays under study, with the sole exception of the anomalous Autun, are seen to go to some trouble to explain that, as opponents of the Harrowing, the devils make an extremely poor showing. So poor is it, indeed, that it is hard to see that the audience can have been expected to take them at all seriously at this level. In other words, these diableries do not create dramatic tension, but actually appear deliberately to dispel it. This is just what some critics have said before (see p. 5 above), and they were right - but for the wrong reasons if they thought that it happened out of mere flippancy. In fact, as we have seen, the alternative choice to concentrating as doggedly as Greban did on explaining why the devils are so ineffective was to depict them as distracted by general evil-doing, which has nothing intrinsically frivolous about it.

Very likely, then, the peculiarly negative nature of the devils' role in the historical Redemption was a strong factor in so many fifteenth century Passion plays' relegating it rather to the background. Yet it was probably not the only factor. There was a very large body of contemporary literature and art in general which involved the subject of Hell and the devil, in which the trend was to describe him in a wide-ranging way as the eternal tempter of the living and the tormentor of the irrevocably damned.

Signs of this are to be seen in other contemporary vernacular religious plays. Their overall attitude to the devil has been well summed up by Toni Andrus: "The theme of

plays with a Devil component is a most general one, for it is none other than the problem of Salvation as it was viewed, felt and lived in an era steeped in Christianity" (120). It is true that in many cases the devil is concerned explicitly with preventing the salvation of only one or two souls. The most obvious example is, perhaps, the Miracle de Théophile (102). Some others are Le mistere d'une jeune fille laquelle se voulut habandonner a peché (121), where the devil urges a merchant and a thief to rape the heroine; a Miracle de Saint Nicolas et d'un Juif (101), where he tempts a Christian couple to defraud a Jewish moneylender; a Mystère de Saint Christofle (122), where he tries to stop Christofle (or Rebrebe as he is at first) from journeying in search of Jesus; the Mystère de Saint Martin (99), where he constantly harries the saint, and the Job play of the Viel Testament (103), in which, to undermine his faith, it is the devil who gives Job boils. It goes, too, for some of the Gangé Miracles de Nostre Dame (104): the devil pursues Saint Jehan Crisostome, the Marquise de la Gaudine, Saint Guillaume, Théodore and even the mother of the Pope.

However in other plays, particularly those involving a struggle between Christian evangelists and hostile rulers - those whose subject comes, it may be said, nearest to that of the fifteenth century Passion plays - the devil shows himself concerned also to abolish the Christian religion as a whole, since it is obviously such a major threat to his own influence among men. Such is the case in Eustache Mercadé's Vengeance Jhesucrist (123), where the devil urges the Pharisees and their allies Pilate and Nero to persecute the Christians, in the Actes des Apôtres (by Arnoul Greban and his brother Simon) (124), where the devils aid and abet Simon the Magician so that Nero will be swayed by him rather than by the true Apostles, and in the Jour du jugement (125), where they likewise support the Antichrist, whom they themselves spawned. Obviously here they are seen at the end to claim the souls of all the damned of all time, so that their role becomes, by implication, timeless. In the Mystère du Roy Advenir (98) and the Mystère de Saint Sébastien (97), pagan tyrants are

urged to persecute the Christians as a whole, and in one of the Cange' Miracles de Nostre Dame (104), the emperor Jullien is tempted to wage war on a town in which the Virgin is worshipped.

Comparatively few plays are so ample as to permit much non-essential embroidery on the devils' character and role, but traces are found from time to time of a basic assumption that the devil embraces more time and more activities than are covered in the particular plot in hand. For example, in the Mystère de Saint Christofle (122), the devil ascribes his inability to pass by a cross directly to the Harrowing of Hell (l. 119 - l. 120, l. 133 - l. 136). In another Mystère de Saint Christophe he boasts that:

Je fais les guerres assembler,
Je destruis par mortelle guerre
Citez et villes sur la terre.
Les roys qui sont de moy hays,
Je les chasse de leur pays.
Il n'a roy si puissant du monde
Que je n'abisme et ne confonde.
La dignité de ma couronne
Toutes les terres environne.
J'ay de soubdoyers (mercenaries) grant puissance
Et innumerable finance
Pour recompenser mes amis ... (126)

This is strikingly like the boasts from Asmo and Satan in the Baptism and Temptation (see p. 76 above). In a Mystère de Saint Louis, a devil reports that he has been patrolling around noting the lapses of the religious:

J'ay esté par tous ces moustiers (monasteries),
Comme aux Carmes, aux cordeliers,
Aux Augustins, aux Jacobins
Aux Bernardins ... (127)

Again, this echoes the rather prolonged sinner-lists found in many of the Passions (see Chapter IV, pp. 237 - 238). In the Miracle de Saint Nicolas et d'un Juif (101), the devil gives up trying to outwit the saint, but ends defiantly: «Autre part m'en voys hutiner (stir up trouble)/ puisque j'ay perdu ceste

proye»(1. 1397 - 1. 1398) - similar to Satan's exit-lines in Palatinus (see p. 74).

While such plays might have had some influence on the Passion play authors' attitudes to the devil, nonetheless it seems likely that the main influence came from outside the drama, from narrative accounts of Hell, from sermons and the like and, of course, from the Bible itself. Just how strong this influence was will be shown in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE INTEGRATION OF THE STAGING OF THE DIABLERIES
INTO CONTEMPORARY IDEAS ABOUT HELL AND THE DEVILS

The subject of the details of Hell and the devil in the medieval French Passion plays is so large that it would be unwieldy if not divided into sub-sections. To begin with, therefore, we shall look at the information given about Hell as a place, both in the text and in the physical staging.

A: The theory of Hell

Four of the plays - Sainte-Geneviève, Semur, Greban and Michel - give a unified account of the basic geography of Hell quite outside the actual diableries, in the resurrected Lazarus's account of the peines d'enfer (Sainte-Geneviève l. 820 - l. 917, Semur l. 5260 - l. 5285, Greban l. 15784 - l. 15856, Michel l. 14599 - l. 14731).

Semur distinguishes only between the Limbo of the Fathers and Hell proper, where languish the damned, but the others mention also another Limbo for stillborn infants and a separate Purgatory, where those who will, in time, be saved are cleansed of their remaining sins. Semur does not give the relative placing of its zones, but the others, drawing on scholastic theology, describe a sort of "stack", with Hell always at the bottom, but the rest variable, thus:

<u>Sainte- Geneviève</u>	Stillborn infants	<u>Greban</u> and <u>Michel</u>	Fathers
	Fathers		Purgatory
	Purgatory		Stillborn infants
	Hell		Hell

The differences seem to be accounted for by the sources used - in the case of Sainte-Geneviève probably the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis plus the Historia scholastica of Petrus Comestor, but in that of Greban and Michel, apparently the arrangement of Thomas Aquinas (1). In the former system, the idea seems to be that souls are graded from top to bottom according to how much more sin they have on them in addition

to original sin, but in the latter, it is whether or not they are destined to be admitted eventually to Heaven, as are the top two groups, or forever excluded from it, as those below are.

As for the details of conditions at the various levels, Sainte-Geneviève says that the Limbo of the Fathers is in darkness, with which Semur agrees, and Michel probably too, for it says that all of Hell is dark; Greban, though, does not mention this. Both Greban and Michel say that the Fathers are sustained by hope. Of the stillborn infants, Sainte-Geneviève says that they know neither benefit nor suffering, but wail eternally, and Greban states that they are in darkness. Michel stresses that at this level there is still no torture. In Purgatory, on the other hand, torment is the whole aim: Sainte-Geneviève says that it has purifying fire, and Greban and Michel that the torment (which they do not actually specify) is proportionate to the souls' sin.

It is, however, on the description of Hell proper that the diableries tend to expend most energy.

Palatinus mentions fire, dung and filth (l. 1285, l. 1322, l. 1352, l. 1381), but Sainte-Geneviève (still in Lazarus's account) goes into much more detail. It describes nine pains linked to nine, mostly deadly, sins. The covetous are bathed in fire; the malicious alternate between fire and ice; those guilty of hate are gnawed by vermin and snakes; the envious have dragons chewing their hearts and innards and toads hang on their ears; the lecherous are in darkness and (probably) stench (2); the disobedient are beaten and trampled by 1,000 devils; those who lapsed from virtue are in darkness; those who did not confess their sins, love or believe in God disclose each other's sins and slander one another; those who would not pray in church (?) (3) suffer the fearful sight of devils and dragons; those who had every sin endure every torment. They are bathed in fire, turned upside down, pierced with needles and fed fire by the devils. Semur, also in Lazarus's account, is less precise, saying that the damned are all eternally bathed in fire, in which lurk huge toads and biting serpents. Some of these souls are stretched out on the ground, others are immersed in molten lead and they are burned in proportion to their sin. All are

stinking, rotting, wretched, dessicated, hideous, disfigured and filled with grief over their failure to repent while on earth. In Semur's diableries are mentioned fire (l. 450), the cauldron (l. 6684, l. 8780), the wheel (l. 8449), the pit (l. 8450), iron bands (l. 8451), hail, cold and storm (l. 8452), burning nails on which souls are hung (l. 8462), pulling of teeth (l. 8463) and immersion in molten lead and filth (l. 8465 - l. 8466). Arras scatters details here and there throughout its diableries. It refers to the gibbet of Hell (l. 1136, l. 20852), the cauldron (l. 5130, l. 5504, l. 6731, l. 7882, l. 13174, l. 17668, l. 18205), boiling in lead and metal (l. 2448, l. 5511) or feeding with wine and molten lead (l. 7915 - l. 7916), beating (l. 7917), scorpions, snakes, toads, dragons, lizards and spiders (l. 1177 - l. 1179, l. 5522 - l. 5524), the pit (l. 2454 - l. 2456, l. 21012, l. 21024), the boiling or roasting of souls for Lucifer to eat (l. 13184 - l. 13185) or in sulphur (l. 18218 - l. 18220), and also, obviously, the fire and furnace (l. 5526 - l. 5527, l. 5529, l. 6730 - l. 6731, l. 7885, l. 7914, l. 13175 - l. 13176, l. 18206, l. 20624). Greban is rather vague in Lazarus's story, citing only eternal fire and sulphur (l. 15838 - l. 15839) (also in the diableries, l. 435, l. 3707), pits and abysses (l. 15843) (also l. 433) and barred prisons (l. 15844 - l. 15845). Elsewhere in the diableries Greban refers to furnaces, chains, hooks, gibbets, biting snakes, blazing dragons, molten lead and metals (l. 434, l. 3712 - l. 3717, l. 7992), being eaten by Lucifer (l. 22090 - l. 22105), being beaten by devils (l. 22128 - l. 22137), being ridden like a horse by Satan - seemingly used for whores and usurers - (l. 28902 - l. 28913), and a marsh (l. 12336, l. 22172, l. 23285) and stench (l. 434). Michel gives a little more detail in Lazarus's account: as well as fire and sulphur (l. 14685 - l. 14686), pits, abysses and barred prisons (l. 14690 - l. 14692), there are cited rivers of fire (l. 14711), while the pits are full of gnawing worms (l. 14716). Here suffer the "proud and worldly" (l. 14704). Michel also mentions the cauldron (l. 3084, l. 23893), being dragged around Hell (l. 24031), heat and cold (l. 24032), toads (l. 23895) and the stench of filthy sludge in the furnace (l. 23902 - l. 23903). Both Greban and Michel give, in Judas's "last

will and testament" bequeathing himself to the devils, a long description of the "tower of despair" in which the damned are imprisoned: built from cries and covered with tears in Greban and vice versa in Michel, it is surrounded by an everlasting wall with infinitely yawning pits and abysses round about, is sulphurous and fiery (with black fire in Michel) and has a serpent-filled ditch and a river of stinking mud (Greban 1. 21986 - 1. 22003, Michel 1. 23927 - 1. 23944). The Baptism and Temptation refers to fire (1. 619, 1. 622, 1. 839), the cauldrons (1. 691), sulphur and pitch (1. 676), while Auvergne also mentions fire (1. 653 - 1. 654, 1. 3790, 1. 3840, 1. 3843) and cooking pots (1. 3791), and shows the devils roasting and eating a soul (1. 3804 - 1. 3817).

Many of the plays also give lists of sinner-types. Palatinus cites kings, counts, princes, popes, legates, cardinals, prelates, Benedictine and Dominican monks, Franciscan friars, soothsayers, lawyers, conciliators, thieves and usurers (1. 1314 - 1. 1320). Sainte-Geneviève, as seen above, lists nine kinds of sin in the course of Lazarus's account; to these it adds in the Harrowing scene thief, murderer, heretic, perjurer and hypocritical hermit (1. 3953 - 1. 3955). Semur lists princes, counts, bailiffs, provosts, corrupt sergeants, fine ladies, maidens, maidservants, chambermaids, nurses and lecherous Beguines (1. 5334 - 1. 5346). Arras also gives many: usurers, witches, wizards, the covetous, thieves, murderers, corrupt lawyers, the uncharitable, women bedecked with jewellery, owners of large estates, drunkards, gluttons, men-at-arms, looters, heretics and those guilty of bestiality and sodomy (1. 13186, 1. 18173 - 1. 18217, 1. 20835, 1. 20870 - 1. 20873). Greban confines itself to citing usurers (1. 28906) and whores (1. 28912), but Michel mentions thief, murderer, sodomite, debauchee, idolater and perjurer (1. 2739 - 1. 2741). The Baptism and Temptation lists the sins of lust, gluttony and avarice (1. 648 - 1. 653), and refers to whores (1. 673).

From all this it will have become fairly clear that there is considerable general agreement among the plays about what Hell was supposed to be like, so that probably the authors had all been influenced by the same kind of sources. What might these have been?

There are four great general accounts of Hell which were known in France by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the (originally Latin) Vision of St. Paul, the (originally Irish) Voyage of St. Brendan, Vision of Tundal and St. Patrick's Purgatory. The following are brief synopses of the features and tortures of Hell as described in each (4) - though not all independently of each other; the first and the third appear to have contributed to the last.

Vision of St. Paul

In front of the gates of Hell are fiery trees with damned souls hung on them by various parts of their body.

Inside Hell is a multicoloured furnace with seven separate flames and torments, around which takes place torture by snow, ice, fire, blood, serpents, thunderbolt, stench. Here are punished the impenitent.

There is a fiery wheel with a thousand spokes, struck a thousand times a day by a demon to torture a thousand souls.

Next there is a foul river filled with soul-eating monsters; souls are immersed in it to a degree that varies according to their sin (slander, fornication, adultery, quarrelling in church, gloating over others' misfortunes).

In a dark place, usurers chew their tongues; women who have killed their unwanted babies are clad in black clothes, covered in pitch and sulphur, with dragons, fire and serpents round their necks, being beaten by four devils.

In a place of ice, partly bitterly cold and partly fiery, those souls suffer who harmed widows and orphans. The fast-breakers have a stream and fruit perpetually just out of their reach. A wicked bishop is attacked by four demons.

The pit of Hell is sealed with seven seals, and when it is opened it gives off a nauseous stench: it is packed with sinners being gnawed by snakes and reptiles.

Voyage of St. Brendan

During the saint's voyage, his boat is driven one day

towards an island covered with slag, full of smithies and inhabited by dark, fiery, shaggy giants. One of them hurls a mass of slag at the boat with tongs.

Vision of Tundal

There is a deep valley full of burning coals, with a thick lid and which produces a great stench. Sinners fall on to the lid, fall through into the fire beneath and are renewed for further torture. These are homicides, fratricides and parricides.

A huge mountain has dark, sulphurous fire on one side and bitter cold, wind and snow on the other. Devils with burning iron forks toss the treacherous to and fro.

In a deep, dark, stinking valley flows a sulphurous river filled with souls. These are the proud.

There stands a monster with a gaping mouth belching fire and stench. Devils drive sinners into it, drag them through it, set dogs, bears, lions, serpents and other creatures on them, beat and subject them to violent fire and cold, their own tears, gnashing teeth and tearing nails. These are the greedy.

Next comes a stormy, monster-filled lake spanned by a very narrow, studded bridge across which thieves are made to carry a load, the heavier the graver their crime. If they fall off, the monsters devour them.

After this there is the "house of Phristinus". It is huge and round with a thousand windows and gives off a great heat. Demons with hatchets, cleavers and the like await souls at the entrance. Inside, souls, those of gluttons and fornicators, are tortured by fire.

On an ice-bound lake stands a long-necked beast with a fire-breathing iron beak and iron claws. It swallows sinners who are reduced to nothing, then reborn to have serpents with blazing iron beaks and claws burst out of their bodies; these are false churchmen and all the lustful.

Another torment is to be seized by demons with iron tools,

heated up in a brazier with bellows, then hammered out on an anvil and suffer the process again in another set of forges. This is for the persistently sinful.

In a square pit suffer the eternally damned. It pours out flames and smoke in which fly sinners' souls, which are almost burned away before they fall back. Inside this pit lies Lucifer.

Lucifer has a crow-black, gigantic body with a thousand twenty-fingered hands, long iron nails on fingers and toes, a long beak and a stinging tail. He is bound by iron bands to a grill over coals heated up by devils. As he writhes, he squeezes souls in his hands and blows them with his breath all over Hell, which causes a stinking flame to burst from the pit. Lucifer then inhales some of the souls and strikes others with his tail. With Lucifer are the fallen angels and the utterly damned of this world.

St. Patrick's Purgatory

The knight Owein is bound hand and foot and dragged through a huge fire with iron hooks.

He is then taken to a dark, barren place with a hot, biting wind, and on to a huge plain where naked sinners are pinned to the ground at hand and foot with red-hot nails, gnawing the earth as demons whip them. Beyond this is another plain where more sinners are fixed to the ground, but this time lying the other way up, on their backs. Blazing dragons sit gnawing some with fiery teeth; serpents with tongues of fire coil about others, piercing their hearts, while huge and likewise fiery toads try to pull them out with their beaks and demons run over them with scourges. On a third plain sinners are pinned down with closely packed red-hot nails, almost touching one another with not a finger's space anywhere on their bodies; they are tormented by a cold, biting wind and demons beat them.

On the fourth plain, which is full of fire, sinners hang by burning chains from various parts of their anatomy, with their heads in sulphurous flames. Others hang in fire with

iron hooks piercing different parts of their bodies, others burn in sulphurous furnaces, are roasted on grills and spits, or are basted with molten metals. All are whipped by devils.

Owein is then taken to a huge fiery iron wheel, all around which sinners are impaled on hooks. The wheel is half above and half below ground, and foul sulphurous flames belch up around it. Demons with iron levers send it whizzing round so fast that only the fire is visible.

He next sees a vast smoking building giving off unbearable heat. Inside are round pits filled with different boiling metals and liquids, in which sinners are immersed to varying degrees.

Owein goes on to a mountain from which a great wind blows sinners down, with attendant demons, into a stinking, icy river from which they are prevented from climbing by devils on the bank using iron hooks.

He next sees the entrance to a pit, throwing up flame in which souls rise and fall back like sparks.

This is not the main pit of Hell, however. Owein is taken next to a wide stinking river burning with sulphurous fire and swarming with devils, which is spanned by a high, narrow and slippery bridge which Owein is forced to cross. Below this river lies the true Hell; but Owein misses this, passing on from the bridge into Earthly Paradise.

Obviously, these basic accounts exerted their influence on numerous other writings and works, so that Passion play authors did not necessarily use them directly. Nevertheless, it will be clear that in what they wrote about Hell, there are unmistakable echoes of general ideas and often of details, although it would be excessively tedious to list all of these.

One group of these "other writings" which is worth separate mention is the sermon. Of course, at the time these could just as well have been heard as read. By and large sermons said much the same kind of things about Hell as we have seen already, but they can add some extra details about

kinds of sinner. The sermon had an especially close relationship with the vernacular religious drama, including Passion plays, because sermons could actually become part of the script, as has already been pointed out in a different context in the case of the Passion de Michel (see p. 91); it is also quite probable that some, such as the Passion d'Arras, were preceded by a sermon-like speech (5).

Certainly, such sermons of the period as have survived describe Hell in very much the same terms as do the Passions, for instance in a sermon preached in London in 1406: "And ther thei shul [be] bulyd (boiled) in fyr and brymstone withouten ende. Venemous wormes and naddris (adders) shul gnawe alle here (their) membris (limbs) withouten seessyng (ceasing)" (6). Another sermon described the Hell-mouth thus: "[There is] stynke, and ther is all derkenes ... There is horribull syghyt off develes, dragons, wormes and serpentys to turment them" (7). A pulpit commonplace called the Fricke of Conscience seems to have been influenced by St. Patrick's Purgatory, for it describes the devils raining blows with red-hot hammers on a mass of closely packed sinners in the ovens, all fighting and tearing at their own and each other's body in their agony (8).

Sermons often also inveighed against particular sins and sinners. One of the most scorned kinds appears to have been the over-dressed woman. An English preacher expressed this view: "the garland upon her head is as a single coal or firebrand of Hell to kindle men with that fire [i.e. the fire of lust]; so too the horns [on the head-dress, frequently ridiculed] of another, so the bare neck, so the brooch upon the breast, so with all the curious finery of the whole of their body" (9). Thus it might be that it was from a sermon or other pious tract that the author of Arras took the idea of including bejewelled women among his sinner-types.

However it will have been noticed that in the Passions the

sinner-lists are sometimes (as in Palatinus or Semur) arranged not so much by type of sin as by descending social degree - king, prince, nobleman, churchman and so on down to somewhat low-life figures such as common thieves, debauchees and whores. This cannot help but echo the danse macabre - except that the danse macabre was not so much about its participants' fate after death as about the inevitability of that death in itself. Descending social gamuts of sinners were, though, a feature of some of the English Last Judgement plays - where they contrast with their saved opposite numbers - and, according to Professor Owst, these scenes were much influenced by sermons: "Let the reader compare once more the typical sermon diatribes upon society and the vices of its various members with the speeches of the damned in this [the Chester] play" (10). Chester brings on a damned pope, an emperor, king, queen, judge and merchant (11). The Towneley play has the devils talk of over-dressed, shrewish, tipsy and unfaithful wives, also of foppish men and the men- and women-servants who imitate their betters, "fals swerars", "rasers of the fals tax" - several of these types appear in Semur - "kyrkchaterars (people who chatter in church)", "lufars (lovers) of symonee", the angry, the envious, the covetous and the gluttonous, the slothful "ale-sitters" and the drunkards who sing, quarrel and blaspheme all night, and who hate going to church - something mentioned in Sainte-Genevieve - and even of the "Janettes of the stewys", of liars, thieves, false jurors, "hasardars (gamblers) and dysars" - compare the dice-introducing diablerie of Arras, Greban and Michel - and finally of "slanderers and back-biters" (12).

From all this sermon material, as from the narrative accounts of Hell itself, it should have become quite clear that in their own descriptions of the damned and of their fate, our French Passion play authors were simply reproducing the received opinions of their day as they would have known them from contemporary written, spoken and pictorial sources.

Equally clearly, though, this theoretical treatment was only a part of the whole effect of the diableries. At least

as important was the practical set of Hell which was in real use. How much did this resemble its theoretical description?

B: The practical set of Hell

The first question to be answered is what position Hell occupied in relation to the rest of the staging as a whole.

The general system used to stage all medieval French vernacular drama was, as is well known, the décor simultané, whereby all the different sets required, at least for a whole day at a time, were on view together throughout the entire performance. Yet there seems to have been some flexibility in the exact way in which all these sets were arranged - a subject which has given rise to some debate in recent years.

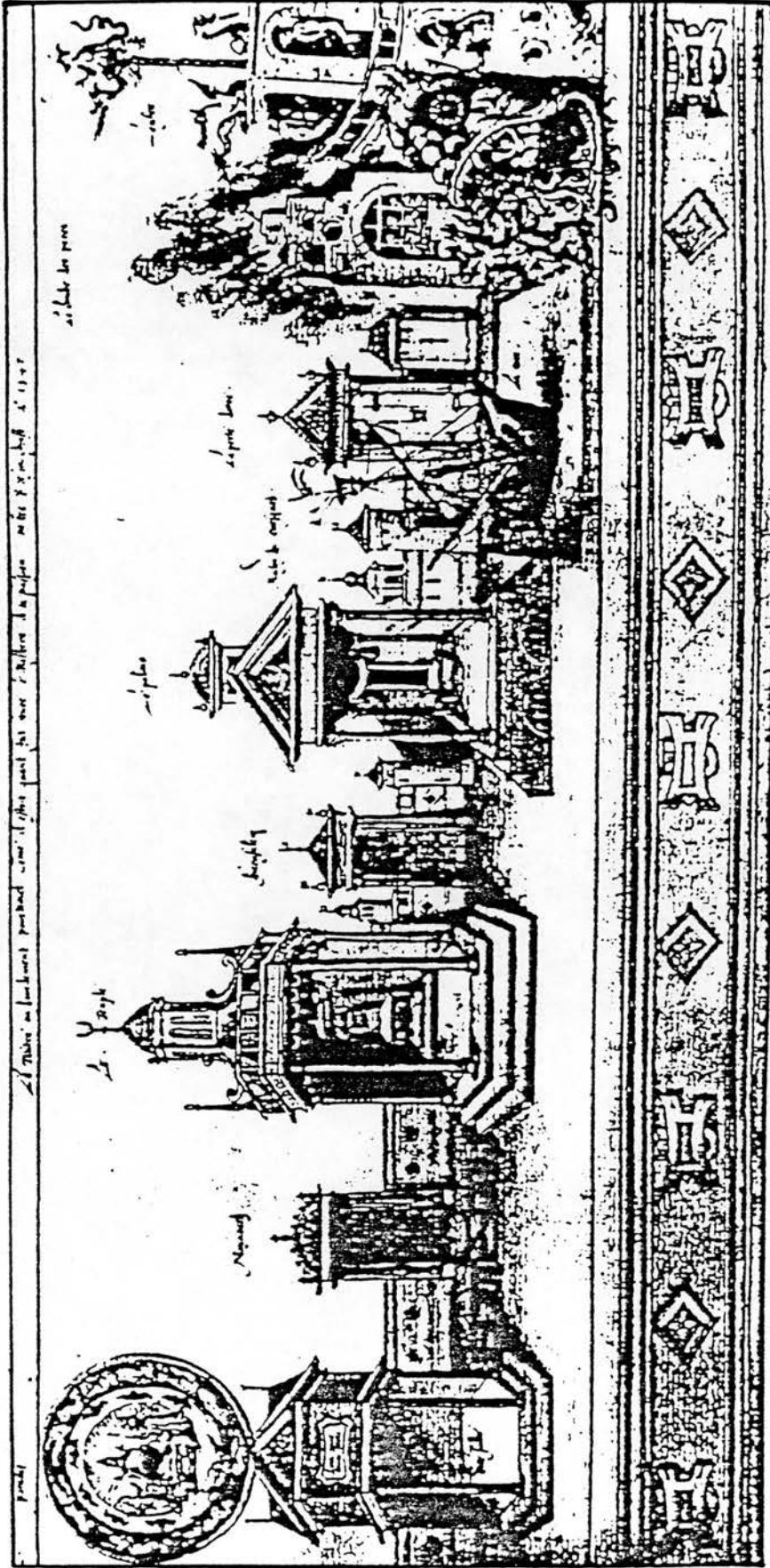
It would be both tedious and superfluous to detail the whole of this debate here; moreover as far as Hell in isolation is concerned, the arguments involve not the basic placing of the set, but only some of its internal fittings.

The nub of the discussion is whether or not to accept as authentic the miniatures painted by one Hubert Cailleau in 1577 to illustrate the manuscript of the Passion performed in 1547 in Valenciennes, particularly the large miniature which purports to depict the whole stage. This shows a raised platform, presumably facing the audience, carrying the entire set running in one huge straight line between Heaven on the (performers') right and Hell on the left, with the human world in the middle. This arrangement has been accepted by previous critics such as Gustave Cohen and, more recently, by Elie Konigson (13); but Henri Rey-Flaud has attacked it as wholly fanciful, for reasons some of which will be mentioned later. His own thesis is that it is another, though rather earlier, theatrical miniature, the Martyre de Sainte Apolline painted in 1461 by Jean Fouquet, which shows what was in fact the genuine medieval system. Here, according to Rey-Flaud, we see (allowing for perspective) a staging "in the round", with sets erected all around a central area and without distinction between actors and audience, for sets and spectators' boxes

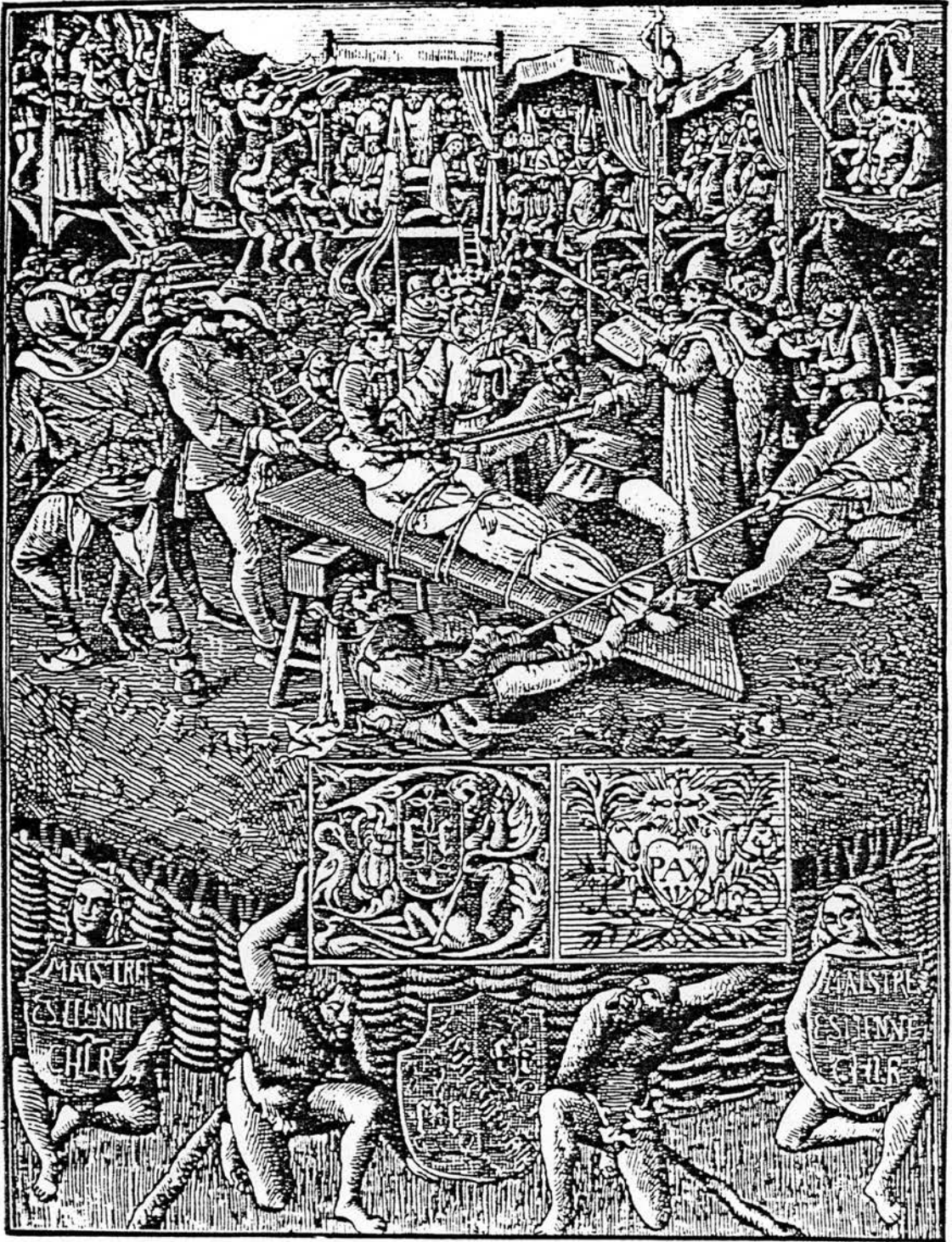
are seen to be standing literally cheek by jowl (14).

Yet in the Martyre de Sainte Apolline Hell is still more or less opposite Heaven, so we need say no more about the general staging for the moment. Some other documents would confirm that Hell was opposite Heaven: plans for the Passion of Lucerne show "der Himmel" at the top with Hell in the bottom left hand corner, while in Alsfeld Hell seems to have been at the top with God's "Throne" at the bottom; a plan supposed to be for the Passion of Villingen, though it is far sketchier, is similar in this respect to Lucerne's. Thus it seems fair to conclude that, irrespective of the general shape of the set - whether it may have been straight or in the round - the normal place for Hell was opposite Heaven.

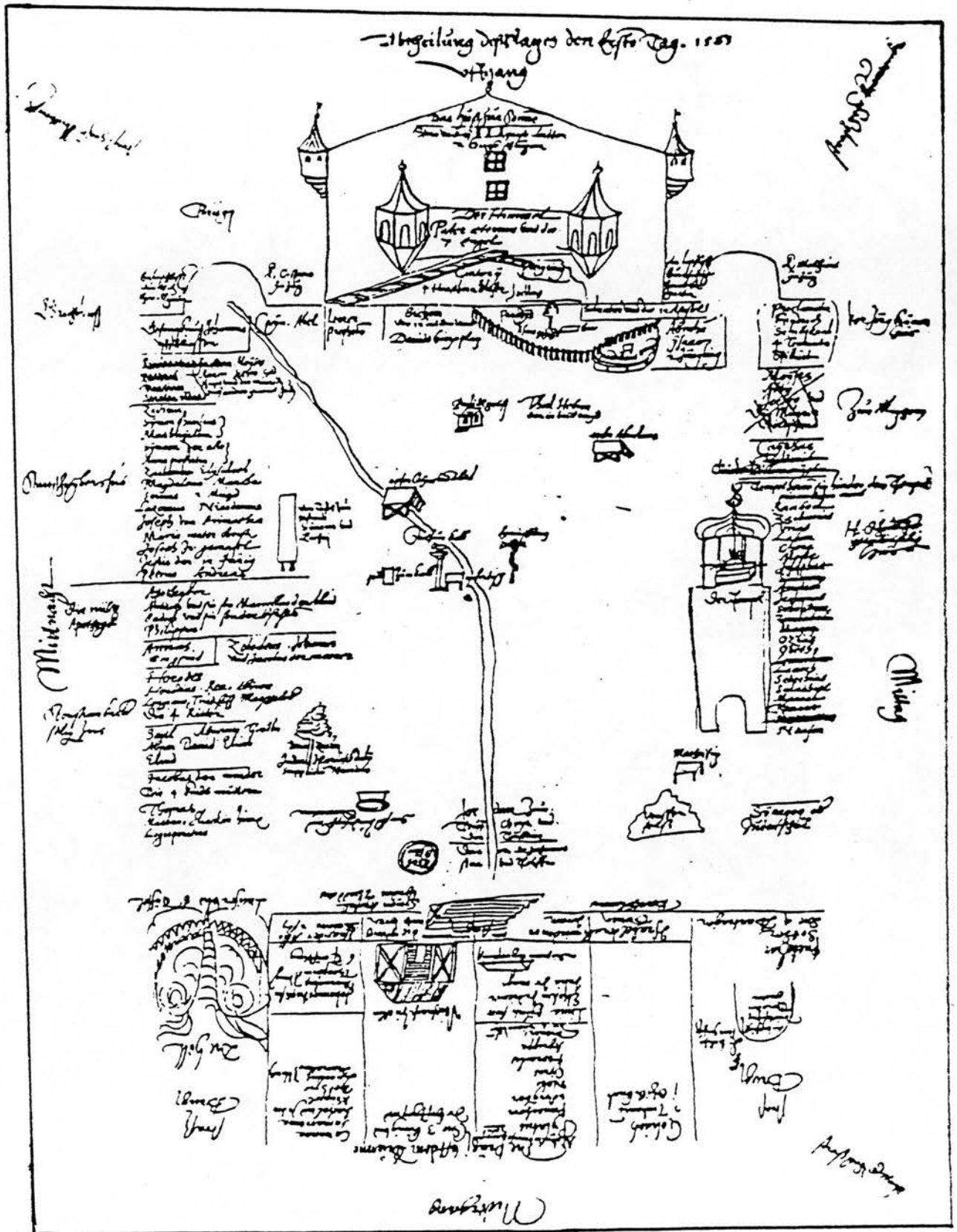
It is harder to be sure about the relative level of Hell. In reality, of course, Hell was supposed to be underground, just as Heaven was in the sky. No modern critic takes seriously the idea that the Frères Parfaict had in the eighteenth century that the medieval stage was a vertical stack of Hell, the earth and Heaven (15); but, early in this century, D.C. Stuart did suggest, on the basis of certain lines in Arras, that Hell lay below the level of the earth, such a line being Arras l. 17691 - l. 17692, where Cerberus says: «Lassus en terre ou j'ay trouvé/Sathan ...». D.C. Stuart declared: "There is little, if any, reason for mistrusting this evidence. To place Hell below the level of earth is no more surprising than to place Heaven above" (16). However, the evidence that we now have available from many other sources is against this. For one thing, in neither Hubert Cailleau's nor Jean Fouquet's pictures is Hell as a whole below the level of the rest of the sets. No Passion except Arras has the devils talk of the earth as though it were above Hell, certainly not in stage directions which are surely a better clue to the staging than ordinary script. Thus Greban l. 26019 - l. 26020 «Icy s'en va en enffer», or Semur's Latin in l. 585 - l. 586, "[SERPENS] vadat ad Evam", or l. 4172 - l. 4173, "vadant ad infernum": all these devils are merely "going" to and from Hell. By contrast, it is usual to say that angels move "down" and "up", e.g. Auvergne l. 327 -



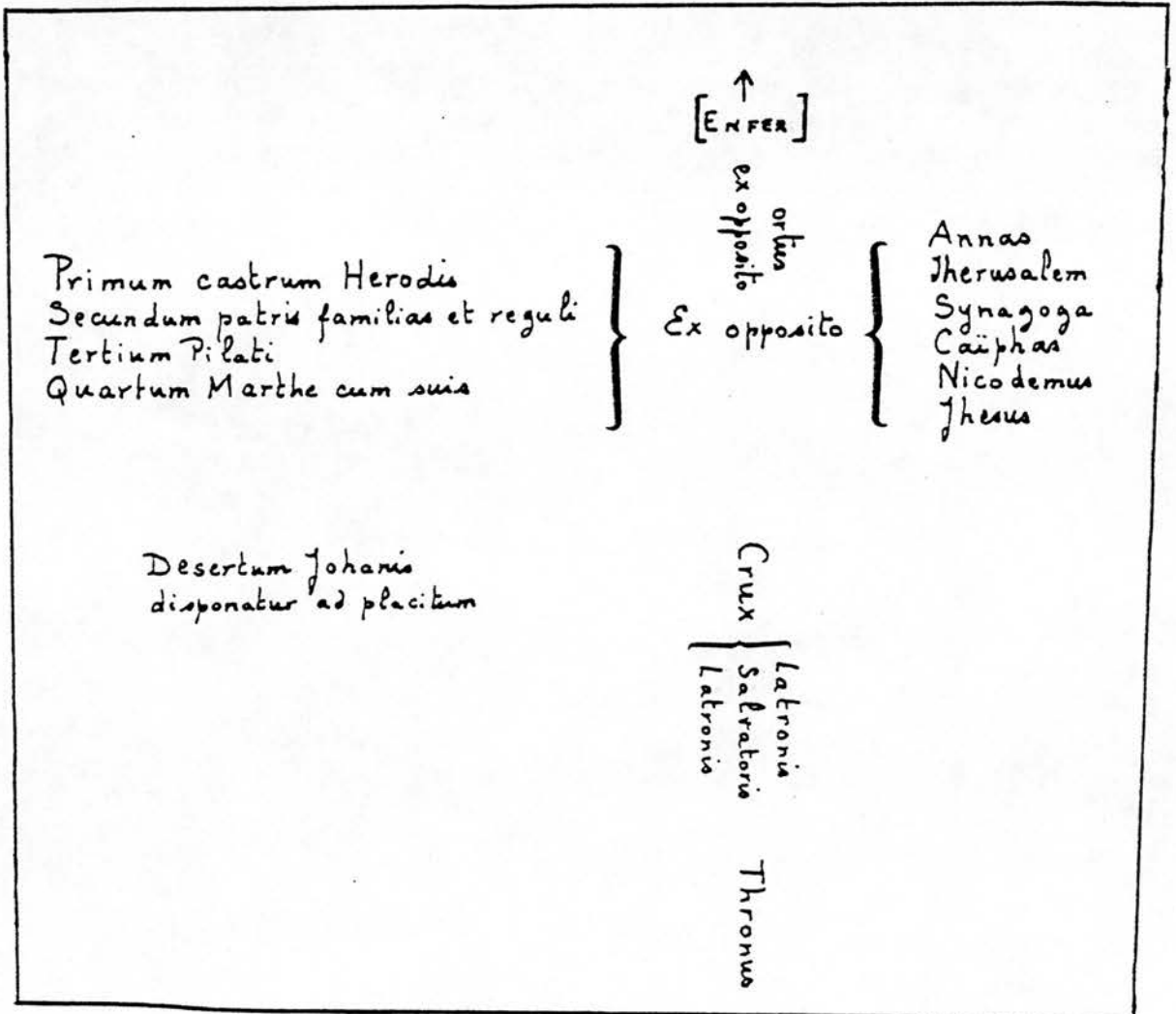
Hubert Cailleau's main miniature in the manuscript of the Passion de Valenciennes, from A. M. Nagler, The Medieval Religious Stage, New Haven and London, 1976, p. 85



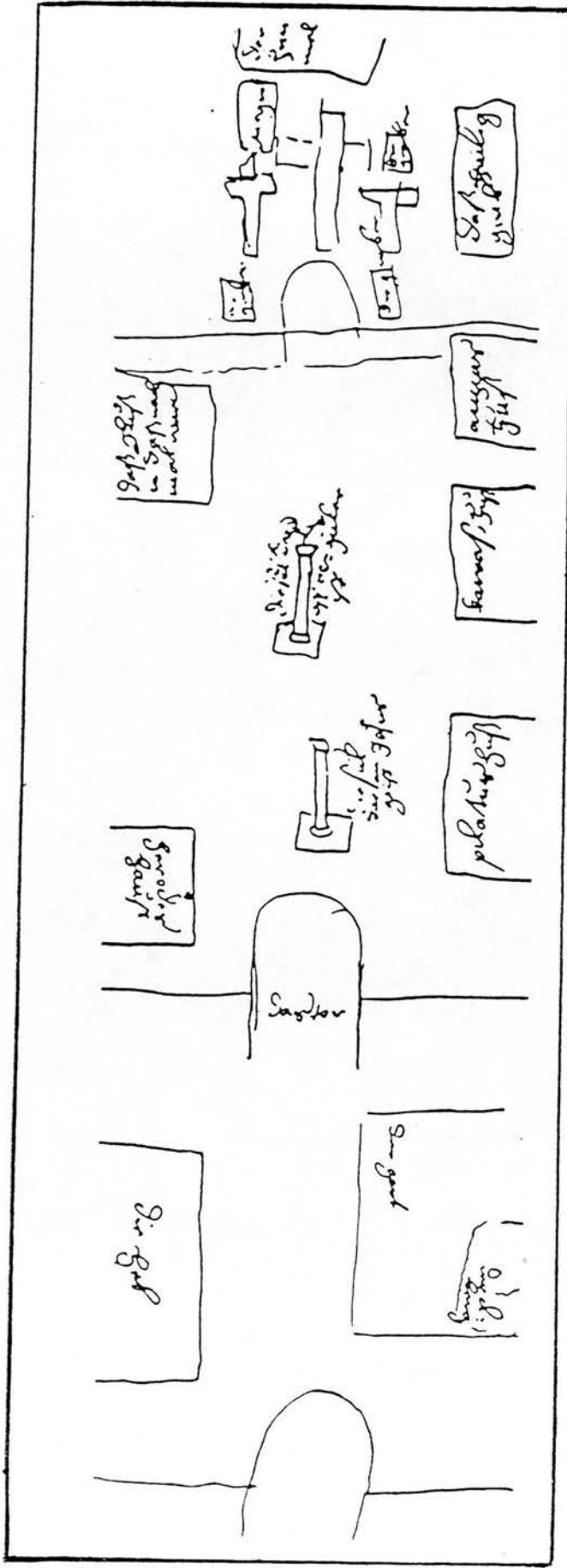
Reproduction of Jean Fouquet's Martyre de Sainte Apolline,
from A. M. Nagler, The Medieval Religious Stage, New Haven and
London, 1976, frontispiece



Plan for the Passion at Lucerne, with Heaven at the top and Hell (the gueule is upside down) at the bottom on the left; from A. M. Nagler, The Medieval Religious Stage, New Haven and London, 1976, p. 30



Plan for the play at Alsfeld, with Hell opposite God's "Throne";
 from Elie Konigson, L'espace théâtral médiéval, Paris, 1975,
 p. 116



Stage plan supposed to be for the Passion at Villingen; from directions concerning the suicide of Judas, it appears that Hell is probably near the central gate ("das Tor"), thus more or less opposite Heaven, which is near the three crosses; from A. M. Nagler, The Medieval Religious Stage, New Haven and London, 1976, pp. 43 - 44

l. 328, "Descendant angeli", or when Semur, at the Fall of the Angels, says of Orgueil and his train, "ascendant paradisum", in order to crown Lucifer (l. 284 - l. 285). Compare the Martyre de Sainte Apolline, where we can see God and some angels in the upper storey of the box on the left, with a ladder for access to the playing area. Indeed, there does exist one reference to devils' actually "going up" to Hell: in a Résurrection once attributed to Jean Michel there is a direction that «Cerberus ... appellera [les diables] et monteront en enfer »(17). Thus the great bulk of the evidence is very much against the idea that Hell could have been lowered in comparison with the rest of the sets.

The internal structure of the stage Hell can be gleaned from quite a wealth of evidence of various kinds. The pictures of Cailleau and Fouquet, however, do not quite agree over all the details, although they do concur that Hell is a two-storey structure containing, in the lower half, the gueule d'enfer and, in the upper, a devil who is apparently the chief, in that he holds a sort of staff of office in his right hand, with which he is gesturing to a devil or devils below, and that in Cailleau's work he is wearing a crown. Indeed here he corresponds exactly with the witness's report given in Chapter I, p. 68, that Lucifer "rose out of the top of Hell on a dragon". The upper storey of Hell seems to have functioned as Lucifer's audience-chamber or «parloir », for a line in the Nativité de Sainte-Geneviève confirms that Lucifer's normal place was in the upper storey: «Ou premier estage d'enfer/ Avec noz maistre Lucifer/ Serez servy et honnouré »(18), as do some lines in Arras and Greban - in Arras l. 13115, Lucifer tells Satan to go «(la dessoubz)» to fetch something, and in Greban l. 33488 Lucifer orders some devils to go «(en bas)» to be tortured. The Résurrection describes this «parloir » as being over the entrance: «parleor qui est sur le portal d'enfer » (19). (It was probably to go to the «parloir » that the devils in the Résurrection "went up" into Hell.)

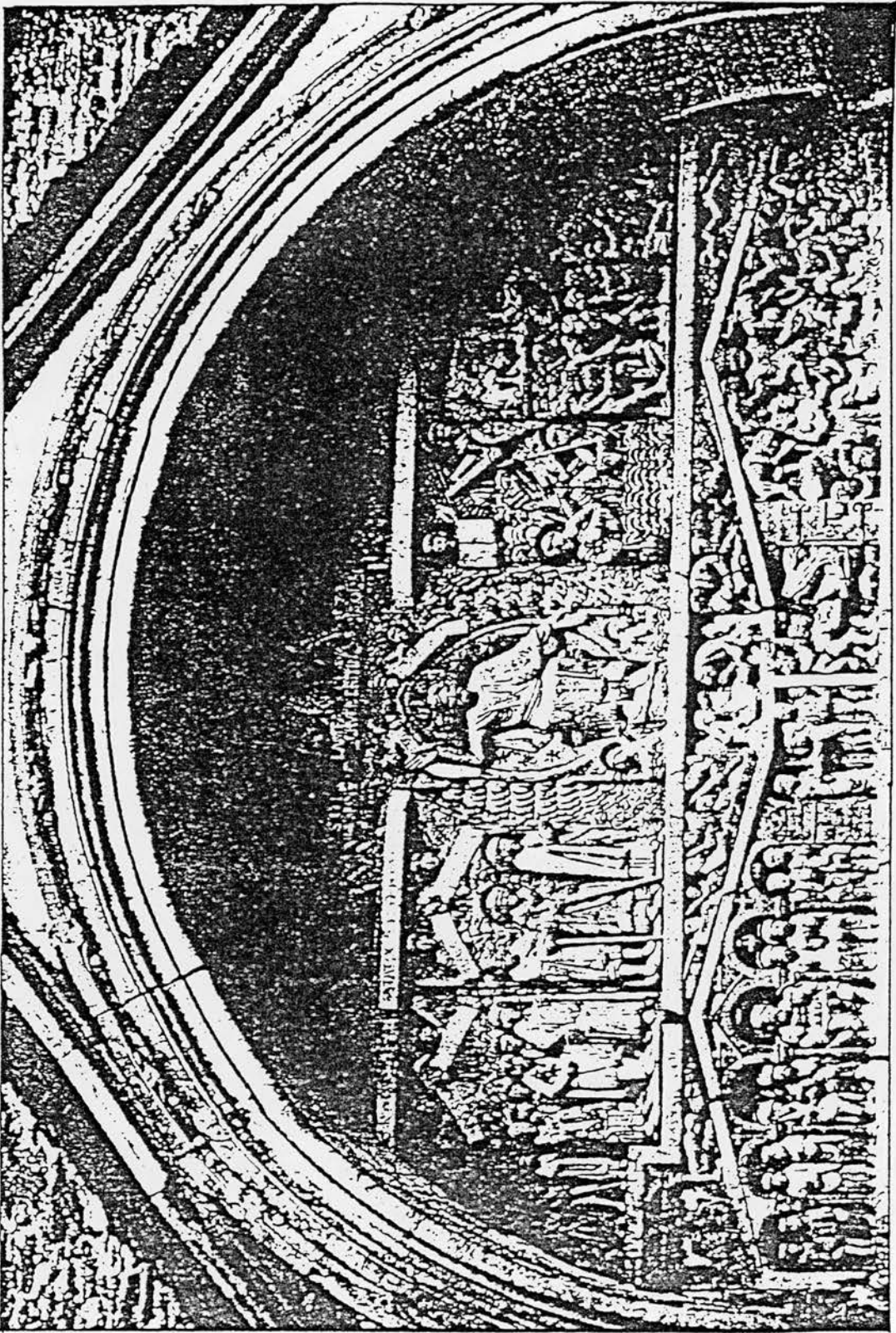
This two-storey set was probably always built of wood; certainly accounts that have survived from Montferrand in 1477 and Mons in 1501 mention quantities of it, sometimes

specifically for Hell, otherwise presumably for all the sets. At Montferrand at one point the accounts contain an item for «iiii journées ... qu'ilz vacquerent (busied themselves) pour ayder a charrier les madriers a fere lesdits chaffaulx»(20); precise mention is made of «deux douzenes de potz qui ont esté prises a fere les limbes dans yfer»(21). Mons refers to «XLII lattes d'asne (alderwood)»(22) and «I^e karee (cartload) de teste de sauch (willow logs) ... icelles employées audit Enffer»(23), and «III aiselles de blan bois, au Limbe»(24).

As for the gueule d'enfer, from available evidence it seems to have been supported inside sometimes by a framework of hoops; Montferrand used «une faysse (bundle) de cercles pour fere la golle d'enfer»(25) - presumably of wicker, or some such flexible material. On the outside, it, or perhaps the whole structure, was apparently covered with vegetation, spiny material as at Montferrand, «une charretee de espine que fut achaptee pour mectre a l'entour du chaffault d'Enfer»(26), or moss as at Mons, «pluiseurs sacquées de mousset ... employés a l'Enffer»(27). Details such as eyes and teeth are also visible in the pictures by Cailleau and Fouquet, and indeed it may be the teeth in the gueule that are meant in the lines of the Baptism and Temptation: «De la dant Serberus/ Mectés les en mal an!»(l. 835 - l. 836). Such details could easily have been carved out of wood. The gueule as a whole, since it served as the entrance to Hell, had to be hinged to allow it to open and shut, as shown by directions for the Mystère de l'Incarnation at Rouen in 1474: «une grande gueule se cloant (closing) et ouvrant quant besoing est»(28). Our own texts have lines which suggest that the gueule was usually kept closed except when a devil had to go in or out, particularly when he had a soul to put to the torture. Thus, in Semur, the devils returning with John the Baptist's soul call to Lucifer: «... je t'apporte/ Une ame, ovre nous la porte»(l. 4173 - l. 4174); compare Auvergne l. 3801. Then, when devil and soul had gone in, the gueule was probably shut again; Auvergne

has the line at the end of a soul-claiming scene: «Sarre la gorge, sarre, sarre!» (l. 662), very likely referring to the closing of the gueule. It is also worth mentioning, even though this work is not necessarily based on stage Hells, that in a carved Last Judgement panel at Conques a devil (in the middle, with wild hair and club) can be seen stuffing souls into a gueule d'enfer. If the gueule was indeed kept closed for most of the time, it would obviously mean that Hell would not always have looked quite as it does in Cailleau's and Fouquet's pictures; there are certain implications of this which will be discussed in due course.

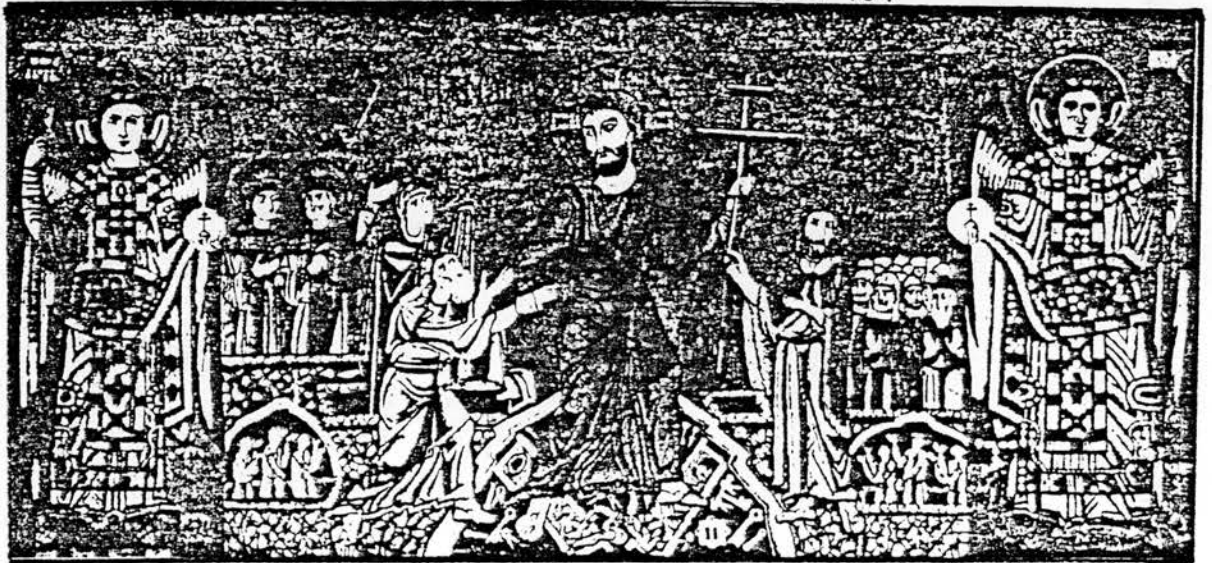
For the moment, though, we must return to the general set-up of Hell. For the Harrowing scene it seems that Hell would have been fitted with proper gates, the "portae" at which Christ strikes. Almost all the Passion plays refer to these in the Harrowing diablerie: thus Palatinus l. 1333, l. 1396; Sainte-Geneviève l. 3915, l. 3979, l. 4015, l. 4029; Semur l. 8501; Arras l. 20955 - l. 20956; Greban l. 26255 - l. 26256; Auvergne l. 3271; Michel l. 28651. Although neither Cailleau nor Fouquet shows gates, they are visible in other pictures of Hell which may have paralleled stage practice: for example, the Last Judgement panel at Conques just mentioned, and a mid-fifteenth century manuscript in the Bodleian library. Here the gates seem to be just in front of, or perhaps just inside, the (open) gueule. If so, the arrangement was perhaps based on the description in Job 41 vv. 1 - 34 of the monster Leviathan, usually considered to be the source of the idea of the gueule d'enfer; the passage starts: "Who can open the doors of his face?". D.C. Stuart suggested that the early, simpler French Passions might have dispensed with the gueule and had only the gates (29), presumably because he was assuming, among other things, that the Harrowing was their only devil-scene, so that they would not have needed any entrance to Hell at any other time. In fact, it has already been suggested in Chapter I that even the fourteenth century plays may have mimed the claiming of Judas's soul and the visit to Pilate's Wife (see pp. 58 - 59 and 38 - 40). Also the association of Hell with the gueule seems to have been a very old and a very strong one:



Last Judgement panel from Conques, from E. Male, L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France, Paris, 1928, p. 411



The Harrowing of Hell, from Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce f.4; from D.D.R. Owen, The Vision of Hell, Edinburgh and London, 1970, pp. 100 - 101



Harrowing of Hell mosaic from Torcello, from E. M[^]ale, L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France, Paris, 1928, p. 104



Harrowing of Hell from a German manuscript,
showing doors set up inside the dragon's jaws;
from H. Knudsen, Deutsche Theater-Geschichte,
Stuttgart, 1970, pp. 48 - 49

apart from the work of Cailleau and Fouquet, the plans for the Passion at Lucerne and the other examples from art so far mentioned, a gueule d'enfer possibly occurs in very stylised form on a mosaic of the Harrowing from Torcello which dates from the eleventh century, before the emergence of the known vernacular religious drama: the kind of gaping hole in the centre with Satan and broken gates beneath Christ's feet may well be a sort of gueule. Given this background, it seems fair to assume, in the absence of positive proof to the contrary, which in no case exists, that all the French Passion plays would have used a gueule d'enfer.

The other necessity for the Harrowing scene was Limbo, and as we have already seen some performances called for wooden slats to build it, presumably to lend it the air of the "prison" which the devils sometimes call it, for example in Sainte-Geneviève l. 3932, l. 3939, l. 4046. Going by written descriptions, the usual position of this Limbo was high. In the Résurrection already referred to, Limbo stood beside and a little higher than Lucifer's parloir, itself above the gueule: «le limbe doit estre au costé du parleor qui est sur le portal d'enfer et plus haut que le dit parleor» (30). In a play at Alençon in 1520 Limbo was an «appentis» situated also above Hell proper (31). Cailleau, however, depicts Limbo at stage level, the same as the gueule; D.C. Stuart, though, has already questioned this, pointing out that such a set-up would render it rather absurd for Christ to embark on freeing the Fathers by attacking the gueule directly beside them, rather than going straight to Limbo itself (32). Indeed, pictures such as that in the Bodleian manuscript already mentioned show the Fathers emerging through the gueule, so that there can be little doubt that this was the normal route, but it would be much more sensibly so if Limbo were raised in the top of the Hell structure, and thus without access of its own from the stage. Certainly, two of our own texts indicate on their own account that Limbo was a high place: in Greban l. 1225 Lucifer orders devils to put Abel's soul «lassus au limbe», so that it may (depending on whether the delivering devils were actually in Lucifer's parloir or not) have been

at the very top of Hell; Auvergne directs of John the Baptist's soul: "ascendat ... ad limbos" (perhaps via a ladder at the back, unseen by the spectators) (l. 655 - l. 656). All other evidence is in disagreement with Cailleau, then, and probably his Limbo is in the wrong place. Henri Rey-Flaud points out that, apart from the thirty years' gap between the performance of the Passion at Valenciennes in 1547 and Cailleau's work on the manuscript in 1577, there is no actual proof that he ever even attended the performance personally. He may therefore have had no memories at all to guide him, or, hardly surprisingly, real memories may have been somewhat hazy (33). Thus a detail like Limbo could easily have suffered.

So much for the overall structure of Hell that our plays probably had. What about the practice of the torments of the place, on which so much description is expended?

The only certain proof that a given torture had some physical substance on the stage is that there is a little scene devoted exclusively to its use; another valuable sign is a distinction between the "body" of a person and the "soul", the former being the live actor and the latter, at least when it comes to torment, a dummy. In fact, if we apply these strict criteria, there are very few absolutely certain cases of real torture in French Passion play diableries: only the torment of Judas in Greban and, more specifically, of his soul in Michel, and of the Bad Thief in Auvergne. In Greban, the devils bring Judas to Lucifer, who takes a bite, then they take turns to beat him, presumably with the clubs which devils usually carry in pictures (see Cailleau and Fouquet's work), and finally lower him on a pitch-fork into the "pit" of Hell (l. 22090 - l. 22176). In Michel it is similar, save that Lucifer's nibbling has been cut out, but presumably, since it is specified that Judas's soul as well as his body goes to Hell, it is the dummy soul which suffers torture - as it may have been also in Greban, but it was not specified. In Michel «les dyables atrainent Judas en Enfer et ameinent son ame batant (at once)» (l. 24024 - l. 24025); after this the

whole scene runs up to l. 24070. In Auvergne, the devils apparently feign roasting the Bad Thief's soul over the fire and eating it (l. 3804 - l. 3817)..

Nowhere else, though, can we be sure that torments talked of were really enacted practically, all the more so as many scenes tend to be brought to a close by preparations for a torture, rather than prolonged by its scripted carrying out, as in the few cases above. It is thus with Judas's soul in Semur, where the devils say: «... pourtons la en enfert,/ Pour presenter a Lucifert,/ Puis la metrons en la chaudiere »), but at once the scene ends: "Tunc portant animam in infernum" (l. 6682 - l. 6685). In Arras the witch's soul is ordered by Satan to be put in boiling lead (l. 2448), but in fact the scene ends some half a dozen lines later with the soul being told merely «Venez avant ou trou parfont/ Ou maintes ames hideux cry font,/ Car vous leur tenrez compaignie »)(l. 2454 - l. 2456); it is similar with Herod's, where, amid talk of boiling lead, reptiles and venomous insects and orders to stoke up the fire (l. 5510 - l. 5530), the scene ends at the point where this torture is meant to be starting: «mettez le dedans »), l. 5531. With Judas, the soul is supposedly put aside until the planned torment of barbecueing can be arranged: «Jettes le la, nous en ferons/ Selon que desservi ara ») (l. 13179 - l. 13180), and Satan hurries off: «Querir m'en vois des usuriers »)(l. 13186). The Bad Thief's soul is also bundled away at the end of the claiming scene: «Si faictes tos que tourmentée/ Soit l'ame qu'on a apportée »)(l. 17727 - l. 17728). In Greban, Herod's soul is ordered to be boiled in lead: «estrenez (reward) l'en plonc bien boulu »)(l. 7992), but a few lines later the scene ends with «Icy font les deables tempeste (a din) »)(l. 7995 - l. 7996). Satan «emporte le mauvais larron en enfer »)while merely talking about the «... lieu de rage fulminé,/ ou le deable est déterminé/ de ses souldoiers (mercenaries) tormenter »)(l. 26614 - l. 26616); compare Michel (l. 28911 - l. 28913). What is the meaning of Greban's "din"? Could it cover the carrying out of torture? Of course it might, but in the absence of script such as occurs with Judas in Greban this would be mere speculation; moreover in Michel

the Judas scene is ended, after the scripted torture, with one of these same «tempestes» (1. 24070 - 1. 24071). Thus it would seem more sensible to suggest that a «tempeste» means only what it appears to, and could not be a cover for further torture.

As far as virtually certain torture props and effects are concerned, then, we have so far found only weapons for beating - probably clubs - a pitch-fork and a "pit" in Greban and Michel, and a fire in Auvergne - and in the rest nothing. What might Greban's and Michel's "pit" have been? There are three possibilities.

The pit could have been a structure separate from the rest of Hell, as it was in the Résurrection already cited, where it is described as being «edifié jouxte le pallour de dessus iceluy portal [d'enfer] et la tour du limbe par devers le champ du jeu pour estre myeulx veu» (34) - i.e. beside the parloir above Hell's entrance between this latter and the tower of Limbo, facing the playing area for better visibility. However this suggests that it would be high, and it is hard to see how souls could be lowered into such a pit as they are in our texts. Another suggestion came from Gustave Cohen, that the pit was a sort of understage cellar beneath Hell:

ce souterrain n'est pas vu du public et ne peut pas plus être considéré comme une scène inférieure que les couloirs ménagés sous la plate-forme et où Jésus disparaît dans l'intervalle de ses apparitions (35)

However this assumes the use of a raised platform stage, and it will be remembered that Cohen accepted Cailleau's picture as authentic (compare p. 112 above). Without one, presumably a cellar would have to be dug out of the ground itself, though this is certainly not impossible. A direction shows without doubt that part of Hell in the Mystère de Saint Martin was, in fact, underground, for «de tous les autres deables n'en doit on voir nully, car ilz seront soubz terre pour sortir es secretz (hiding-places) ad ce ordonnez ...» (36). A soul would go easily into a cellar, whatever its nature; but there is also a third, and really much simpler, possibility. The "pit" may have denoted merely the ordinary gueule, being the part of the

structure into which souls were thrust, as opposed to the parloir, which was reserved as Lucifer's audience chamber. It has already been remarked that a carving at Conques shows a devil pushing souls into a gueule, and that certain of our own texts suggest that the gueule was normally closed after a soul was brought back to Hell: this could mean not only that the gueule was their entrance route, but also that they were meant to stay inside it as in a state of torture. Certainly the manuscript directions for Valenciennes in 1547 leave open the possibility that the tortures - a cauldron and a wheel - were on view only when the gueule was opened: «en Enfer souvrant le gouffre sortoit feu et fumee ... puis on voigt boullir la chaudiere plaine de damnez. daultres aussi en des roues tournantes» (37). Cailleau's picture, of course, shows this wheel not inside the gueule, as the cauldron is, but above it, in the second storey of Hell; Lucifer, for his part, is out over the roof on a dragon. We do know that he was not always so: the same directions say «lucifer seslevat hault sur un dragon» (38), and this is confirmed by another account (see Chapter I, p. 68). Presumably Lucifer could rise up as a special effect, but we must suppose that normally he was in his parloir - just where Cailleau has put the wheel. Surely there would not have been enough room for both to be seen clearly. It is quite likely, therefore, that, as with the position of Limbo and for the same reasons, Cailleau is inaccurate here, and that in fact both cauldron and wheel were inside the gueule and seen only when it was fully opened. We can see from the Vision of St. Paul, the Vision of Tundal and St. Patrick's Purgatory that there was a strong tradition of a "pit" of Hell which was something more than just a pit, but was full of fire, reptiles and so on, and a gueule on the stage with some props and fire behind it could well have represented it. There would be no difficulty in lowering souls into its back recesses.

We have said that normally it seems that the gueule would have been closed on a soul quickly, without a long show of practical torture, but at the same time it is not really unlikely that in a full-scale Passion play there would have

been some lesser use of torture-props and effects even in ordinary cases before the gueule was closed - for example, the display of a fire and a cauldron, or of dummy reptiles. At any rate, entries for such things occur in the accounts for Mons in 1501: <<II^m (two barrel-loads) de carbon fauldre (charcoal) ... pour servir à l'Enfer >>, <<II petis soufflés >>, <<une caudiere ... pour l'Enffer >>, <<le molle (probably, "foundation shape") d'un dragon >>, which may have been built upon with papier mâché, and <<sept serpens d'oziere >>(39).

Closely related to the torments of the stage Hell were its special effects. The most basic was the fire itself, which could, if we are to believe the directions for Valenciennes, flare out of the open gueule: <<en Enfer souvrant le gouffre sortoit feu et fume >>(40). There was also the <<tempeste >> mentioned above, referring to Greban and Michel; the other examples from our texts are in Semur during the Raising of Lazarus, where "faciant DIABOLI magnum tonitruum et fumum et tempestates" (l. 5217 - l. 5218); in Greban after the Fall of the Angels (l. 450 - l. 451), after the Fall of Man (l. 943 - l. 944), after the Harrowing of Hell (l. 26336 - l. 26337), and at the Resurrection (l. 29085 - l. 29086); in Auvergne before and after the Temptation of Herod's family (l. 112 - l. 113, l. 210 - l. 211), after the arrival in Limbo of John the Baptist's soul (l. 693 - l. 694), and after the Harrowing of Hell (l. 3288 - l. 3289); in Michel during the Temptation of Judas (l. 18997 - l. 18998). Thunder appears to have been produced sometimes by rolling a metal basin or a barrel full of stones presumably. Mons mentions <<deux grandes keuwes (basins) pour faire les tonnoires en Enffer >>, and also <<I thonseau ... mis en Enffer >> (41), but more violent methods were used too at times, involving actual explosives and cannon, which are recorded at both Montferrand and Mons. In the case of the Passion at Montferrand, one of the stage-hands was apparently injured: <<se mist en grand dangiers de sa personne et d'estre tué de colabrunes (cannon) out il y a mis ... et se cuida (believed) gasté le visaige >>(42). Also in these accounts we find mention of <<neuf livres podre de seelpetre >>(43), one of the ingredients of gunpowder, while Mons lists <<dix instruments à jecter feu en Enfer et deux grosses buzes de fer >>, these latter being most probably some

sort of early blunderbuss (44). Our own texts mention such things particularly in relation to fortifying Hell before the Harrowing: in Arras the devils are ordered to put cannon in every aperture, also to pulverise, melt down and roast souls and their accoutrements into "gunpowder", "pebbles", "Greek fire" (also mentioned in Greban l. 17393) - an explosive mixture lobbed through the air - and "boiling oil" (Arras l. 18169 - l. 18222, l. 20834 - l. 20845). Michel has Gerberus at one point gloat over his «... gros canons et mes bombardes, / serpentines (cannon) ...» (l. 13940 - l. 13941). Some more evidence that the stage Hell could contain real fire and firearms lies in the fact that at Mons it seems to have been plastered over the wood, probably to make it less easily inflammable; there are several entries for "days spent plastering in Hell" (45).

As a by-product, the sulphur present in gunpowder would have produced the "stench" which was so important a feature of the theory of Hell.

G: The theory of the devils

It is, in some ways, more difficult to try to separate theory and practice when dealing with the stage devils than with the stage Hell. This is because it seems to have fallen to actors themselves to pay for their own costumes and so these are not usually mentioned in the general accounts for productions. Therefore what may have been merely theoretical and what real cannot be distinguished so simply as by comparing accounts with textual description; by and large we have to use our own judgement. In what follows it has been assumed that, because hints that occur about costumes do not seem extravagant or impractical, and because they agree with such other sources as we have, they do in fact refer to real outfits. Therefore, except where talk of the devils' appearance seems explicitly to be making a theoretical point, references to it have been assigned to practice rather than to theory.

The only play which mentions how many devils there are meant to be is Semur, which gives "a hundred million" (l. 1191) and "a hundred thousand" (l. 4213).

More texts deal with appearance. The devils often say that they are black, deformed and/or filthy and stinking; they hate these bodies, remembering their beauty and brilliance before their Fall (Palatinus l. 1346, Semur l. 344, l. 370 - l. 371, l. 400, l. 408, l. 423, l. 1198; Arras l. 1140, l. 1174, l. 6718, l. 20650 - l. 20651; Greban l. 3730, l. 3753, l. 21754, l. 26383 - l. 26385, l. 28895 - l. 28897; Michel l. 23607, l. 23865 - l. 23867). Occasionally, though, other colours are mentioned: Semur refers to "grey" devils in l. 5327 and Greban to "red" ones in l. 3779. More common are different sizes and shapes of devil. Semur mentions "tall" and "short" devils (l. 1193) and "fat" devils (l. 1193, also Greban l. 3779); Semur and Arras cite "horned" devils (Semur l. 1195, Arras l. 20815), and Arras, Greban and Michel refer to she-devils (Arras l. 6717, l. 20886, Greban l. 15192, Michel l. 23634).

Related to the devils' blighted appearance is their state within Hell, from which they suffer as much as their own human victims. In Semur, God decrees after their Fall from Heaven that the devils shall dwell in eternal darkness, filth, fire, cold and wretchedness (l. 366 - l. 375, l. 405 - l. 406, l. 412). In Arras the devils say that they suffer (l. 14130 - l. 14131, l. 14138, l. 20649); in Greban they live in torment, darkness, fire and stench (l. 402, l. 405, l. 419 - l. 420, l. 428, l. 434, l. 3731 - l. 3735, l. 3852 - l. 3859, l. 21757 - l. 21759, l. 28868 - l. 28873); Michel also alludes to this suffering (l. 7793, l. 7795, l. 7802 - l. 7805, l. 23609 - l. 23612).

Many Passion plays mention devils who specialise in some particular field of activity. Semur has storm-provoking and flying devils and devils who drive people mad or are active on earth (l. 1193 - l. 1197, l. 4214). Arras mentions sea devils and devils conjured up by spells, devils who make idols speak (l. 20817 - l. 20819), and by having Jesus after the Harrowing forbid the devils both ever to go again to the earth or to the

sea, rather implies that these are separate domains (l. 21021), as does also l. 1188 in which Lucifer promises Satan powers valid both "up hill and down dale". Greban (l. 10561) and Michel (l. 2364) also mention air and sea devils, and Michel refers to air devils again in l. 23633. Michel assigns each of the seven Deadly Sins to a particular devil or group of devils - Pride to Leviathan, Envy to Belphegor, Sloth to Cachodemon, Baal and Astaroth, Gluttony to Belberith, Zabulon, Hur, Behemot, Belial, Galast and Moloost, Lust to Asmodeus, Avarice to Mamonna and Wrath to Belzebuth, l. 23622 - l. 23630. Other texts name individual devils too, but without giving them any particular speciality. These names are as follows, in alphabetical order for each play (but note that they do not include mere labels such as "Temptator" and the like, nor names chosen not by the author, but by the editor; such cases will be discussed below):

Sainte-Geneviève: Beelzebub, Satan

Semur: Baucibus, Dame Oyseuse, Deesperance, Despit, Desroy, Infernus/Lucifer, Mors Inferni, Orgueil, Satan, Superbia, Tempest

Arras: Agrapart, Astaroth, Arroulliet, Belial, Belzebuth, Burgibus, Bouffart, Cerberus, Crocquet, Dentart, Destourbet, Fernagus, Flahault, Frongnart, Fouant, Gravet, Gombaut, Grongnart, Leviatan, Lucifer, Nacharon, Nazart, Rifflart, Satan, Soufflet, Tantalus, Torquet, Trote de piet, Urbant, Urlant, Zabulon, Zaroes

Greban: Astaroth, Belzebuth, Berich, Cerberus, Desesperance, Fergalus, Lucifer, Satan

Baptism and Temptation: Asmo, Astarot, Belzebut, Lucifer, Satan

Auvergne: Asmo, Astarot, Belzebut, Feu Griset, Lucifer, Satan

Michel: Asmodeust, Astaroth, Baal, Behemot, Belberith, Belial, Belphegor, Belzebuth, Berith, Cachodemon, Cerberus, Emythees, Galast, Hur, Lares, Lemeures, Lerues, Leviathan, Lucifer, Mamonna, Mana, Manes, Mantua, Manyes, Moloost, Satan, Triptes, Zabulon

However individual devils are often seen to be delegated specific powers or tasks by Lucifer (see below), or to boast of having carried off specific triumphs in the past. In Arras 1. 1186 - 1. 1196, Lucifer promises Satan powers to raise gales and thunderstorms, start wars among kings and princes and incite murder, pillage and rape. In the Baptism and Temptation Asmo boasts of striking people down and killing them, causing strife, strangling people and hurling them down from heights, making them lecherous, gluttonous and avaricious and of having incited specific Old Testament crimes from the murder of Abel onwards (see Chapter I, p. 76), 1. 632 - 1. 639, 1. 648 - 1. 653. His rival Satan claims to have caused like crimes and to have brought about "more than 500,000" needless deaths in wars and other conflicts, 1. 640 - 1. 647.

In all this the devils are supposed to depend on being given power by Lucifer. Sometimes, if they run into problems, they appeal for an extra dose (Greban 1. 10451 - 1. 10453, 1. 15170; Michel 1. 2196 - 1. 2199, 1. 2849, 1. 13947). It seems that they may be able to "block" each other's efforts (Greban 1. 17324, Michel 1. 17215). More importantly, though, the devils' power is useless against holiness, which even their reason cannot penetrate - this being, of course, vital to the mechanism of the Redemption (see Chapter I, p. 96). The devils themselves may think that this is because God is "sheltering" His own, as they say in Michel 1. 2320 - 1. 2329, but J. Michel shows that in reality it is because the devils' Fall has deprived them of their angelic <<science infuse >> (1. 391), or instant understanding of all things, so that they have, like most humans, to rely on inferior reason, or <<discours scientifique >>(1. 395), which cannot encompass pure spirit.

Yet, to some extent, as compared to humans, the devils do show "paranormal" perception. Thus, Lucifer knows of Adam's death in Greban (1. 1644 - 1. 1645), and of John the Baptist's in Semur (1. 4123), and of Jesus's baptism in the Baptism and Temptation (1. 578 - 1. 583), and in several plays that Pilate's Wife is asleep in the Palace (Arras 1. 14179; Greban 1. 23399, Michel 1. 25636). Also the devils know a little of

the future, such as the Fall of Jerusalem, which is often predicted in Pilate's Wife's dream of course, as in Arras l. 14203 - l. 14206, also l. 20789 - l. 20795, Greban l. 23431 - l. 23435, Auvergne l. 1918 - l. 1924, Michel l. 25666 - l. 25670. They also know of the Last Judgement (Greban l. 26343), or even, before they have been written, of the Gospels, if we are to believe Palatinus l. 1239 - l. 1241: <<Qui se faisoit apeler Crist,/ Fil Dieu, si com cil l'ont escrit,/ Qui le tenoient a seigneur>>- unless this is just an anachronistic slip on the author's part.

Not only are they mentally baffled by holy or divine beings, but the devils actually become physically ill with quaking or "burning" at the very thought or mention of them (Palatinus l. 1300 - l. 1303, l. 1369 - l. 1371; Sainte-Geneviève l. 3944 - l. 3945, l. 3951 - l. 3952; Semur l. 8493, l. 8716; Michel l. 25558).

From all this it is clear enough that our authors were in a fair amount of agreement about the characteristics of the devil; but where did this come from? It is not so easy to track down basic medieval sources of information about the devil as it is about Hell, for the simple reason that, for understandable reasons, nobody seems to have written openly or otherwise circulated very many details at one time: there are no popular handbooks on the devil! However, since like ideas to our authors' can be found here and there in a variety of other works, it seems reasonable to suppose that there was a perhaps largely oral, folk tradition which everybody would have known about. Perhaps it was linked with the "sub-literary tradition of antique mime" referred to by Erich Auerbach (46), and connected with the devils on stage by Richard Axton, remarking on their surprisingly full and free treatment in the Jeu d'Adam (47).

Certainly, this was the view of Professor Owst, who gives several parallels from pulpit literature to beliefs noted above, which he thinks hark back "to an even more primitive stage in the development of religion with the ceaseless descriptions and stories of the devils themselves in

sermon literature. They still "flye above in the eyer as thyke as motis in the sonne", dropping "unclene maters" from the sky, leaving storm and ruin in their path, transforming themselves into a dozen shapes in as many different situations" (48). It was also apparently the custom quite early to name individual devils: "the leading devils were already known and even mentioned by their nicknames in pulpit manuals from the thirteenth century onwards" (49). Individual devils could be credited with specialities; one of best known in England, one Tityvillus, was, it seems, believed to collect in sacks fragments of the Divine Offices slurred over by lazy clerks (compare Chapter I, p. 100, where the same idea occurs) (50). Obviously this sermon material, which probably took very much the same basic form across the Channel, has already provided several details seen in our diableries - the ideas of storm-raising, the naming and specialisation of particular devils. However a study of the actual origin of the French names reveals that quite a few have been taken from the Bible itself, or, in one case, from the Apocrypha:

- Astaroth: A form of Ashtoreth, a pagan goddess (51)
- Baal: The chief Canaanite god (52)
- Belberith: Baal-Berith, a local variety of Baal (53)
- Beelzebub: The "lord of the flies", seen in the New Testament as the chief of the demons (54)
- Behemoth: A monster described in Job 40 v. 15 (55)
- Belial: In the Old Testament, a sort of synonym of "wickedness"; in the New Testament, means Satan (56)
- Belphegor: Perhaps Baal-peor, a Moabite god (57)
- Leviathan: In Job 41 vv. 1 - 34, a monster - the same one as is thought to have inspired the gueule d'enfer (58)
- Lucifer: (Mistakenly) identified with the fallen archangel in Isaiah 14 v. 12 (59)
- Mamonna: In the New Testament, Mammon means "money" or "covetousness" (60)
- Moloost: Molech, a pagan god (61)
- Satan: The commonest Biblical term for the fiend (62)

From the apocryphal Book of Tobit:

Asmodeus: Possibly from Aeshma-daiva, a Persian god (63);
Asmo is probably a diminutive (64)

A small number of the other names probably have sources in some kind of non-Biblical religious context. From pagan mythologies come:

Cerberus: The three-headed hound guarding the classical Hades

Hur: According to Gustave Cohen, the <<hure>> was the blazing hat of Hellekin, a Teutonic storm-god, which came to mean the spirit himself (65)

Tantalus: The famous victim of the classical Hades

In 1844 J. Collin de Plancy produced a Dictionnaire infernal, in which he listed several of the devils' names quoted in the medieval plays. Thus probably they had existed since at least the Middle Ages in popular superstition:

Berith: Supposed to specialise in alchemy, of course a favourite subject in the Middle Ages (66)

Cachodemon: A general-purpose term for a devil whose exact identity is not known (67)

Zabulon: A devil once credited with a possession (68)

Less certain, but possible, derivations are:

Nacharon: Nakaronkir was apparently the name of a spirit sent by Mahomet to sinful Moslems to urge them to repent (69)

Zaroes: Possibly a form of Zoroaster, founder of Zoroastrianism in Persia

Since both these names occur in Arras, it is possible that its author had gleaned them from some sort of Middle Eastern-influenced compendium.

Almost all of the remaining devil-names are either names which belong to a distinct common pool of names which can be shared with other wicked types in the Passion lines, such as

bourreaux or Pharisees, and low-status types such as servants and porters, or else they are Gallic nicknames based on (usually) unpleasant features of body or character. There is some overlap between the two groups. The sharing of names with humans will be discussed more fully in Chapter III, but the nicknames may be dealt with here:

Agrapart: Probably from <<agripper >>
 Bouffart: "Guts"
 Crocquet: "Fangs"
 Dentart: "Toothy"
 Destourbet: "Hell-raiser"
 Fouant: "Mole"
 Frongnart: "Scowler", from <<frongner >>, to scowl
 Grongnart: "Grumpy"
 Nazart: "Nosey"
 Riffart: Probably from <<riffler >>, to pinch, pilfer
 Torquet: Probably from <<tordre >>
 Urlant: "Howler"

A smaller group of nicknames are not overtly derogatory:

Arroulliet: "Rusty"
 Feu Griset: "Wildfire"
 Flahault: "Flute"
 Gravet: Probably means "having a low voice"
 Soufflet: From <<souffler >>
 Trote de
 piet: "Trotter"
 Urbant: "Urbane"

Another idea about the devils that may have been taken from the Bible itself is that they dwell in darkness (and chains), for the Epistle of Jude, v. 6 says that they are "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness".

D: The practice of the devils

Usually devils on stage seem to have worn a sort of body-suit made of animal hides, with shaggy hairs, a prominent

"spine" and "ribs", bat-like wings on the shoulders, webbed or clawed paws and feet, or hooves, a grotesque mask resembling an animal, and sometimes decorated with dugs or leering faces in erotic areas - the whole a cross between a satyr and a medieval dragon, which often had feet, a pointed tail and bat-like wings. The devils shown by Fouquet, Cailleau and the Limbourg brothers, and, indeed, by almost all artists from the fifteenth century onwards answer this description. It is true that on occasions in the sixteenth century, especially, stage devils seem to have worn outfits made of much more luxurious materials than hide (see Chapter I, pp. 67 - 68), but there is no evidence from our own texts that this was what their particular authors had in mind.

Our texts yield references to the claws because the devils seem to have used them to seize souls (Arras l. 1125, l. 5502, l. 7009, l. 7912; Greban l. 3750, l. 3906, l. 22093, l. 23371, l. 25063; Auvergne l. 643 - l. 644). In addition, Lucifer used his for giving a "benediction" to devils going on errands, which is what he appears to be doing in Cailleau's picture; indeed, the accounts for the Passion de Mons contain a reference to «le ferure de l'un des bras du grant deable» (70), so that perhaps his arm could be an exaggeratedly large artificial one. References to this "blessing" are found in Greban l. 673 - l. 675, l. 3970 - l. 3973, l. 22160 - l. 22164, Michel l. 7842.

The devils often also mention their monstrous appearance, which was most strongly represented by their masks (Semur l. 772; Arras l. 1140, l. 2393, l. 7010, l. 7879, l. 7890, l. 7906, l. 7913, l. 17722; Greban l. 667, l. 1699, l. 3724, l. 7377 - l. 7378, l. 15116, l. 22098 - l. 22099, l. 23360, l. 24498, l. 28895 - l. 28897, l. 28984, l. 33350, l. 33360, l. 33425 - l. 33426, l. 33459; Michel l. 27091. Fangs are mentioned in Arras l. 2393, the Baptism and Temptation l. 584, Michel l. 13943. The Baptism and Temptation also refers to Lucifer's "grinding his teeth" (l. 584), compare Arras l. 2393. In Auvergne l. 658 he is told to "open his eyes", so that some parts of the mask might have been movable. In the Actes des Apôtres at Bourges in 1536 the devils are described as moving their wings and claws (71). Quite likely the nicknames seen

above in abundance in Arras referring to physical ugliness actually had some link with the appearance of individual masks, for we can see from the pictures by Fouquet and Cailleau that the devils did not all look exactly alike. It is in Arras that we find among the cast two "child" devils, Gravet (who probably in fact had a piping voice) and Soufflet, who boasts that he has learnt to work the bellows beneath the cauldron, hence his name; no doubt these parts were played by real children, so that they would be smaller than the rest of the devils. Otherwise, all the plays' devils seem to be meant to be "adult", and any major differences in size - such as in the "short", "fat" and "tall" devils cited occasionally - must have been catered for, if at all, by hiring appropriately built actors.

The devils completed their outfits with several sorts of accessories according to contemporary accounts. Fouquet and Cailleau show them carrying clubs or hooked sticks, and these are also described by Rabelais, who says that they could be made to flare up too:

[Les diables][t]enoient en main aucuns bastons noirs pleins de fuzées (squibs); aultres portoient longs tizons alluméz, sus lesquelz ... jectoient pleines poingnées de parafine en pouldre (powdered tallow), dont sortoit feu et fumée terrible. (72)

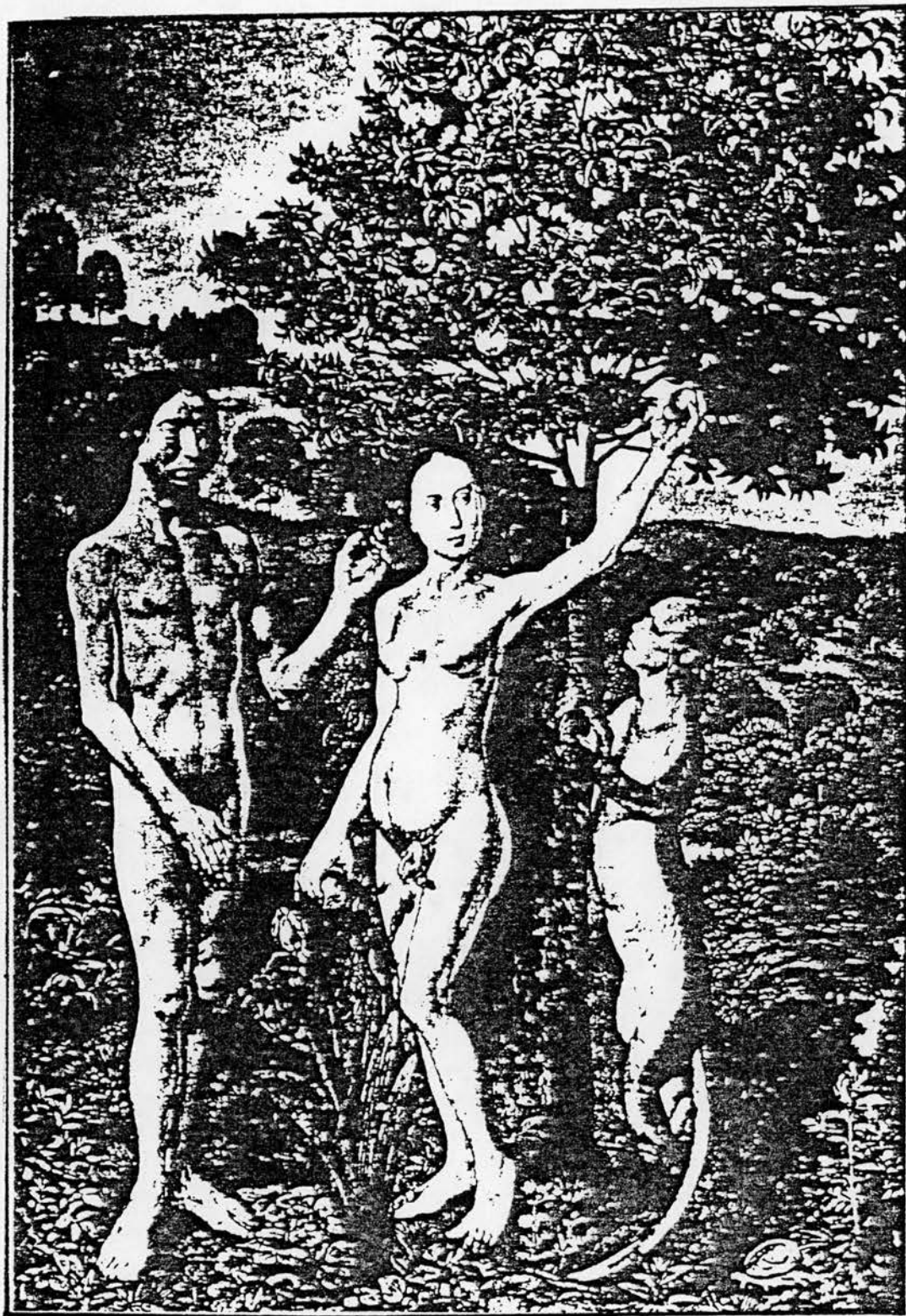
Lucifer himself wore a crown, which Cailleau shows and our texts mention occasionally: Semur l. 8769, Greban l. 31983 - l. 31984. Other devils sometimes had personal accessories, but others to which they had general access were bonds, chains, batons and hooks for dealing with souls they claimed (Semur l. 4129; Arras l. 5487, l. 5502, l. 5506, l. 6720 - l. 6722, l. 18223; Greban l. 3712, l. 7383 - l. 7387, l. 7982 - l. 7983, l. 26420; Michel l. 28689). They could also provide suitable suicide weapons, such as a knife, or the noose for Judas (Arras l. 13104, l. 13134 - l. 13135; Greban l. 7974 - l. 7975; l. 21929 - l. 21939; Michel l. 23827 - l. 23836). For torture they mention bellows and fire-irons for the fire (as in

Falatinus l. 1382; Arras l. 6730 - l. 6733, l. 7882, l. 20624 - l. 20625); Greban mentions a long lance used for lowering the soul of Judas into the pit (l. 22150 - l. 22153).

Accessories used by individual devils include a sort of trumpet blown to summon the devils to a general audience with Lucifer (Semur l. 5325 - l. 5326, Greban l. 3758 - l. 3759); such a trumpet can be seen in MS. Rawl. D. 939 in the Bodleian library. Cerberus, in his role in Greban and Michel as the janitor of Hell, has bars, bolts, keys and locks (Greban l. 15162 - l. 15164, Michel l. 13937 - l. 13941); some can be seen scattered around the fallen gates and Satan in the Torcello mosaic. In Semur the figure of Orgueil, who appears at the Fall of the Angels, rides on horseback while Despit unfurls a banner (l. 254 - l. 262), which Emile Roy says was Pride's accepted appearance in art (73).

For the emergency of the Harrowing of Hell, the devils in Arras go so far as to don helmets (l. 18216), and they take up sharpened hooks (l. 18223), bows and arrows (l. 20836) and even "gaming-tables" as shields (l. 20837 - l. 20838) - the English preacher John Myrc once called gaming-tables the devil's "altar" (74) - while Satan wields a huge, flaming, sinner-studded standard (l. 20865 - l. 20873).

However, the Harrowing was not the only occasion on which the devils might change their usual costume; sometimes they disguised themselves in order to tempt. The obvious case is the Temptation of Eve, where traditionally the tempter took the form of a woman's torso and a snake's tail (including the feet that medieval "worms" usually had). Semur specifies that the colour of this outfit be red, symbolic of the blood that mankind's Fall will cause to be spilt: "habeat pellem de quodam penno rubro", l. 558 - l. 559; Greban also describes the woman's torso and the snake's tail and feet in l. 677 - l. 678. At the Temptation of Jesus in the Baptism and Temptation and Michel, Satan changes his costume twice. He starts out as a hermit, then becomes a scholar (in whose hood, in the Baptism and Temptation, he is supposed to carry Jesus



A Temptation of Eve with a "woman-serpent" who seems to correspond quite closely with the Passions' description of the tempter's appearance in this episode; from Louis Réau, L'Iconographie de l'Art chrétien, 3 vols, Paris, 1955 - 1958; vol. 2, pp. 65 - 66

up the mountain), then a king (Michel l. 2727 - l. 2728, l. 2860 - l. 2861, l. 2960 - l. 2961; Baptism and Temptation l. 699 - l. 700, l. 754 - l. 755, l. 793 - l. 795, l. 808 - l. 809). These disguises could have been achieved simply by throwing a cloak over the normal suit of hides, and perhaps taking off the mask, adding a crown in the case of the king. Certainly, this is how Satan was meant to be disguised in order to introduce dice to the bourreaux, according to Michel: «Ycy jecte Sathan ung manteau sur ses espaulles» (l. 28096 - l. 28097). The trouble with a more thorough change was that it took time, to the extent that in the Passion de Mons, where it was meant to be Lucifer himself who tempted Eve in the form of a snake, the directions go so far as to say that someone else is to be ready instead, «pour ce que Lucifer ne seroit point assez à temps mis en fourme de serpent» (75). The use of ready-dressed substitutes was very likely one option in handling the transformation of the Fallen Angels into devils, which occurs in Semur and Greban. One set of actors dressed as the bad angels could have jumped out of Heaven (on to hidden straw, or the like) at the same time as others dressed as the devils jumped out into view in Hell: they could hardly have jumped from one to the other directly, quite apart from the question of costume, because usually it seems that Heaven and Hell were more or less opposite, never adjoining. This could have been the method in Greban, because as it stands the direction would be, from what we know of medieval staging, impractical: «Ycy cheent (fall) et tresbuchent (topple) les mauvais anges en enfer en fourme de deables» (l. 426 - l. 427). In Semur they and St. Michael fight, "et pugnando cadunt subtiliter extra paradysum, et, dum sunt extra, dicat MICHAEL «Ils sont hors du beau lieu hautisme ...» (l. 332 - l. 333); St. Michael's speech is followed by a lengthy speech by God (l. 337 - l. 387) before the new devils speak again, so that possibly this lapse of time might cover costume-changing by a single set of actors, whereas Greban has no detectable delay.

How many devils were there on stage? It is impossible to be absolutely certain, because there are certain complications in that sometimes plays have the devils speak collectively,

sometimes they ascribe lines to a mere label rather than to a real name, so that it is not excluded that the label may in fact refer to one of the devils named elsewhere, and sometimes it seems that more devils must be present than the speakers alone. The following are the separate speakers in our texts (but for the names Satan and Enfers in Palatinus see pp. 143 - 144; for the identity of Lucifer with Infernus in Semur, see pp. 145 - 146):

Palatinus: Satan
Enfers

Sainte-Geneviève: Satan
Beelzebub

Semur: Lucifer (= Infernus) Mors Inferni
Baucibus Temptator
Clamator Despit
Satan Dame Oyseuse
Orgueil Deesperance
Tempest Coquus
Serpens Superbia
Desroy

Arras: Satan Astaroth
Lucifer Flahault
Cerberus Burgibus
Agrapart Soufflet
Belzebuth Gravet

Greban: Satan Cerberus
Lucifer Desesperance
Astaroth Belzebuth
Berich Fergalus

Baptism and
Temptation: Satan Belzebut
Lucifer Astarot
Asmo

<u>Auvergne:</u>	Satan	Asmo
	Belzebut	Astarot
	Lucifer	Feu Griset
<u>Michel:</u>	Satan	Astaroth
	Lucifer	Desesperance
	Berith	Cerberus
	Belzebuth	

The speakers' roles are made up as follows (note that the episodes have been defined specifically in order to bring out differences in role-distribution, and do not necessarily coincide with the structural divisions made earlier in Chapter I). Only the fifteenth century plays need this treatment, for in the fourteenth century ones there is only the one scripted diablerie, the Harrowing, at which obviously all the speakers are present.

Semur

1ere Journée

Revolt/Fall of the Angels:	Lucifer, Baucibus, Orgueil, Tempest, Desroy, Despit, Dame Cyseuse
Devils' Reaction in Hell:	Lucifer, Baucibus, Orgueil, Tempest, Desroy, Coquus
Plan of Temptation of Eve:	Lucifer, Serpens
Temptation of Eve:	Serpens
After Temptation in Hell:	Lucifer, Clamator, Orgueil, Serpens, Deesperance, Superbia
Claiming of Abel's Soul:	Mors Inferni
Council after the Flood:	Lucifer, Baucibus, Clamator, Tempest, Desroy
Before/after claiming	
John the Baptist's Soul:	Lucifer, Baucibus, Tempest, Despit
Claiming of John the	
Baptist's Soul:	Baucibus, Tempest, Despit
Plan of Temptation of	
Jesus:	Lucifer, Temptator
Temptation of Jesus:	Temptator

2e Journée

Reaction to Raising of	
Lazarus:	Infernus (Lucifer - see below)
Decision to tempt Judas:	Lucifer, Baucibus, Clamator, Tempest, Desroy, Mors Inferni

Claiming of Judas's Soul: Clamator, Mors Inferni
 Visit to Pilate's Wife: Clamator
 Harrowing of Hell: Lucifer, Baucibus, Satan, Tempest,
 Desroy, Mors Inferni

Arras1ere Journée

After the Annunciation: Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth,
 Astaroth
 Claiming of Witch's Soul: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus, Belzebuth,
 Astaroth
 After the Slaughter
 of the Innocents: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus, Astaroth
 Claiming of Herod's Soul: Satan, Cerberus, Astaroth
 Presentation of
 Herod's Soul: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus, Belzebuth,
 Astaroth

2e Journée

Devils sent out to tempt: Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth, Soufflet,
 Gravet
 Temptation of Jesus: Satan
 After Temptation of Jesus: Satan, Lucifer
 After the Exorcism: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus, Astaroth
 Before the Claiming
 of Judas's Soul: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus
 Claiming of Judas's Soul: Satan, Cerberus
 Presentation of
 Judas's Soul: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus

3e Journée

Before the Visit
 to Pilate's Wife: Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth,
 Agrapart
 Visit to Pilate's Wife: Satan
 Introduction of Dice: Satan
 Claiming of the
 Thieves' Souls: Satan, Cerberus
 Presentation of the
 Bad Thief's Soul: Lucifer, Cerberus
 Fortification of Hell: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus,
 Belzebuth

4e Journée

Harrowing of Hell: Satan, Lucifer, Cerberus, Agrapart,
 Astaroth, Flahault, Burgibus

Greban

Prologue

Fall of Angels: Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Belzebuth

Plan of the	
Temptation of Eve:	Satan, Lucifer
Temptation of Eve:	Satan
On earth after the	
Temptation of Eve:	Satan
In Hell after the	
Temptation of Eve:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Belzebuth
Presentation of	
Abel's Soul:	Lucifer, Astaroth, Belzebuth
Before the Claiming of	
Adam's and Eve's Souls:	Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth
Presentation of	
Adam's and Eve's Souls:	Satan, Lucifer
<u>1^{ere} Journée</u>	
After the Annunciation:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Belzebuth
On earth after the	
Presentation of Jesus	
at the Temple:	Satan
Before the Slaughter	
of the Innocents:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Belzebuth
Claiming of Herod's Soul:	Satan, Astaroth
Presentation of	
Herod's Soul:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth
<u>2^e Journée</u>	
On earth before	
Temptation of Jesus:	Satan, Berich
Plan in Hell of	
Temptation of Jesus:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Belzebuth
Temptation of Jesus:	Satan
In Hell after	
Temptation of Jesus:	Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth
After the Exorcism:	Lucifer, Belzebuth, Fergalus
Reaction to the	
Raising of Lazarus:	Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Belzebuth, Fergalus
Decision on earth to	
tempt the Pharisees:	Satan
Outburst of Rage	
on earth:	Satan
Decision in Hell	
to tempt Judas:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Fergalus
Temptation of Judas:	Satan

3^e Journée

Before the Claiming of Judas's Soul:	Lucifer, Desesperance
Claiming of Judas's Soul:	Berich, Desesperance
Presentation of Judas's Soul:	Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Desesperance, Fergalus
Reaction in Hell to Souls' Rejoicing in Limbo:	Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Fergalus
Gloating on earth over Jesus:	Satan
Plan of Visit to Pilate's Wife:	Satan, Lucifer
Visit to Pilate's Wife:	Satan
Report of Failure of Visit:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Cerberus, Fergalus
Satan's Rage at the Crucifixion:	Satan
Introduction of Dice:	Satan
Satan's Dismay at the Death of Jesus:	Satan
Harrowing of Hell:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Fergalus
Claiming of Bad Thief's Soul:	Satan

4^e Journée

Council before the Resurrection:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Fergalus
Report after the Resurrection:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Fergalus
Reaction on earth to the Ascension:	Satan, Astaroth, Berich
Reaction in Hell to the Ascension:	Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Berich, Cerberus, Fergalus

Baptism and Temptation

In Hell before Temptation of Jesus:	Satan, Lucifer, Asmo, Belzebut, Astarot
Temptation of Jesus:	Satan, Asmo
In Hell after Temptation of Jesus:	Satan, Lucifer, Asmo, Belzebut, Astarot

AuvergneFragment A

- Temptation of Herodias: Belzebut
 Discussion in Hell: Satan, Belzebut, Lucifer, Asmo, Astarot
 Temptation of Herod, Herodias and Salome: Satan, Belzebut, Asmo
 Claiming of John the Baptist's Soul: Satan, Belzebut, Asmo
 Presentation of John the Baptist's Soul: Satan, Lucifer

Fragment B

- Harrowing of Hell: Satan, Lucifer, Asmo
 Claiming of the Bad Thief's Soul: Satan
 Presentation of the Bad Thief's Soul: Satan, Belzebut, Lucifer, Asmo, Astarot, Feu Griset
 Attempt to claim the Good Thief's Soul: Satan, Belzebut, Asmo, Astarot, Feu Griset

Michel1^{ere} Journée

- On earth before the Temptation of Jesus: Satan, Berith
 Plan in Hell of the Temptation of Jesus: Satan, Lucifer, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth, Cerberus
 Temptation of Jesus: Satan
 In Hell after the Temptation of Jesus: Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth
 After Arrival in Limbo of John the Baptist's Soul: Satan, Lucifer, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth, Cerberus

2^e Journée

- On earth after the Exorcism: Astaroth
 In Hell after the Exorcism: Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth, Astaroth
 Reaction in Hell to the Raising of Lazarus: Lucifer, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth
 Decision on earth to tempt the Pharisees: Satan

3^e Journée

Outburst of Rage on earth:	Satan
Decision in Hell to tempt Judas:	Satan, Lucifer, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth, Cerberus
Temptation of Judas:	Satan, Berith, Belzebuth
Temptation of Judas:	Satan, Berith, Belzebuth
<u>4^e Journée</u>	
Before Claiming of Judas's Soul:	Satan, Lucifer, Desesperance
Claiming of Judas's Soul:	Satan, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth, Cerberus, Desesperance
Presentation of Judas's Soul:	Satan, Lucifer, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth, Cerberus, Desesperance
Gloating on earth over Jesus:	Satan
Reaction in Hell to Souls' Rejoicing in Limbo:	Lucifer, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth, Cerberus
Plan of Visit to Pilate's Wife:	Satan, Lucifer, Belzebuth
Visit to Pilate's Wife:	Satan
Report of Failure of Visit:	Satan, Lucifer, Berith, Astaroth, Cerberus
Rage at Crucifixion:	Satan
Introduction of Dice:	Satan
Dismay at Jesus's Death:	Satan
Fortification of Hell:	Satan, Lucifer, Berith, Belzebuth, Astaroth, Cerberus
Claiming of the Bad Thief's Soul:	Satan

From all this material it appears that none of the plays had more than fourteen speaking roles for devils, and even this number, in Semur, was reached only because there are several very small parts given to personified sins or to labels who appear only once, or at the most twice. Otherwise, the fourteenth century plays seem to have confined themselves to just two individually speaking devils (as in the sources) and the rest of the fifteenth century plays to ten or less. In fact, most later plays had less speaking devils, fewer

"bit" parts being added to the "regular" roles.

Nevertheless, there are indications, especially in the earlier plays, that there were sometimes extra devils on stage who did not speak individually. In Biard, of course, there are no separate speakers at all, but only a communal voice; however in Palatinus too, where there are two separate speaking roles, Satan says after Christ's entry: «Maintenant en avoit ci quatre» (l. 1412), and it may be to these extra two devils that an earlier communal response to Satan's boasts (l. 1278) is meant to be ascribed. (The devils speak in unison at the Harrowing, too, in Semur between l. 8586 and l. 8613 and in Greban l. 26281 - l. 26282, but presumably this includes only previously known speakers.) What of the many devils mentioned by name in various lists of demons in Arras and Michel (see above, p. 125), who fail to appear among the individual speakers? Could these plays have had so many silent extras? In Michel there is no evidence apart from the mere listing of their names of these devils' existence, so that it could well be argued that they are quite imaginary, but in one scene in Arras a devil makes a remark explicitly addressed to one of these non-speakers, Crocquet (l. 5533), who is otherwise named only in lists in l. 1117 and l. 6711. Thus it looks as if this «Crocquet» must in some way be present in the flesh. A possible explanation, though, could be that «Crocquet» - "Fangs" - is only an already known devil's nickname, perhaps referring to fangs on his mask, all the more so as there are signs in other plays that different names could indeed be applied to a single devil. Thus «Sathanas» to Lucifer in Semur l. 4173 and l. 4235 (to say nothing of the other alternative "Infernus", discussed below, pp. 145 - 146); «maistre Agrippart» probably to either Astaroth or Belzebuth in Greban l. 448, and «Cerberus» to Lucifer in the Baptism and Temptation l. 570 and Auvergne l. 3800; in a direction Auvergne calls Satan "Inferus" (l. 3785 - l. 3786). It may be that in Semur as well as least some of the "labels" used in the manuscript, especially those used only once, such as "Coquus", the "Cook", or "Serpens", or the even more baldly denoted "Temptator", which seem to refer to their task of the moment, do not in fact all represent new devils, but old ones in a new

and temporary guise. Certainly this would be a much more economical arrangement than any other way of doing things. It would also be, in Semur in particular, a more impersonal approach, in that the emphasis would be noticeably on the function of a devil at a given moment, rather than on him as a persistent individual personality; and we may link this trait to Semur's much greater use than other plays' of personified sins for devils, of which it has no less than five (Despit, Orgueil, Dame Oyseuse, Deesperance, Superbia), whereas of the rest, only Greban and Michel use Desesperance, once only. Overall, it would seem fair to say that Semur appears to stand a little apart from the path taken by all the other surviving fifteenth century French Passion plays of treating the devils very much as stable creatures of flesh and blood consistently present from start to finish. Perhaps this impersonality in Semur could be a sign of an earlier date, for many early plays did not name devils individually, but called them "First", "Second" devil and so on (76); however it is not wise to say more without further study of Semur as a whole (see also p. 146). By contrast to Semur's remote approach, however, we can see quite plainly throughout the Passion d'Arras, Greban, Michel and the Montferrand play a distinct trend of concentrating personally on an ever shrinking core of devils - which is all the more reason for suggesting that it is rather unlikely, despite their long devil-lists, that either Arras or Michel would really have had an army of extras on hand in Hell.

What was the reasoning behind this highlighting of the individual devil? Who were these devils? Immediately certain problems present themselves, firstly in Palatinus. Grace Frank, still the most recent editor of Palatinus, decided in spite of the lack of proper names in the manuscript to style the two speakers at the Harrowing <<Satan>> and <<Enfers>>, or "Infernus", basing this on the Passion des jongleurs, and on Nicodemus itself and <<les autres drames>> (77), apparently other fourteenth century plays such as the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève. However the actual manuscript gives no names at all, and, on reflection, it seems fair to question Mrs. Frank's choice.

Both Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs tend to give the impression that, however inadequately he may have supervised Satan's activities on earth, inside Hell Infernus/Enfers is the chief devil; the poem calls Satan «Princes d'enfer et de l'empire» (l. 2591), but Enfer is «mestres clamez (called)» (l. 2592). Certainly, Infernus is given custody of Satan after Christ's defeat of him and he loftily rebukes him. Thus it looks as if, in general, we would not expect Infernus/Enfers to be treated as anything less than Satan's superior. In Palatinus, the role of the first speaker, who boasts of having arranged the death of Jesus, does indeed correspond closely and obviously at this stage to that of Satan in Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs; but the second speaker, despite reacting like Infernus/Enfers fearfully to Satan's news, is treated by Satan with the utmost scorn, as at the very most an equal, certainly not as a superior. Moreover this second speaker in Palatinus has fled by the time that Christ arrives to strike at Hell's gate, instead of remaining to resist as seems to be the case in the sources and later receiving Satan from Christ; in Palatinus, Satan alone challenges Christ at the gates and afterwards he simply abandons Hell, so that the binding of Satan is cut out altogether. Thus between the sources and Palatinus there is a substantial area of difference, and certainly it does not seem that the second speaking devil can fairly be said to correspond very closely at all to Infernus/Enfers. It seems to me that it would have been better to have eliminated the doubt altogether by styling the devils merely "First Devil" and "Second Devil" - which is in fact what an earlier editor, Karl Christ, did do (78). Such a non-committal approach would have the merit of being nearer in spirit to Sainte-Geneviève, where the two speakers at the Harrowing seem fairly equal, but, significantly, Satan's companion bears the name Beelzebub and not Enfer - presumably after the rather shadowy colleague of Satan introduced by the Passion des jongleurs to visit Pilate's Wife (see Chapter I, pp. 37 - 39), and who is rebuked with Satan by their apparently common superior Enfer. The overall situation in the fourteenth century Passions would thus seem, insofar as it can be known, to have been that there were

a small number of devils with no clear leader.

Of Semur and all the other fifteenth century texts this is no longer true: not only do they have more speakers, but there is also a clear leader among them. In all the plays save Semur this leader is called, unequivocally, "Lucifer"; but to some extent, in Semur, "Lucifer" alternates with "Infernus". Does this mean that "Infernus" is a more archaic version of the same devil as "Lucifer", given that Semur is without doubt earlier than the majority of plays which have exclusively "Lucifer", that is, Greban, Michel and the Montferrand play? Indeed, an examination of the distribution of "Infernus" in Semur tends to support this hypothesis, in the sense that its occurrence can be linked to indications of fairly direct use of sources such as Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs, which are similar to some scenes found in fourteenth century plays, whereas the scenes with "Lucifer" seem a step removed from such close inspiration, and are more like scenes found in definitely later Passion plays. This is most clearly apparent from the more important passage where "Infernus" is used, which is the early stage of the Harrowing of Hell. In this passage, as noted earlier in Chapter I, pp. 94 - 95, there is also unexpectedly introduced Satan, whose boasts of having brought about Jesus's death single-handedly flatly contradict the picture built up by previous diableries, whereby a council of all the devils together, not including Satan, and presided over by "Lucifer", decided to seek Jesus's death. It looks very much as if we are seeing here a juxtaposition of two somewhat different approaches: a Harrowing scene based quite closely on Nicodemus/the Passion des jongleurs or similar sources, with a boastful Satan telling "Infernus" that he has just defeated Jesus, which is inserted, as the manuscript stands, into a context that the campaign against Jesus was undertaken by a number of devils directed by a leader called "Lucifer": this is the general approach of the later fifteenth century plays as far as can be told, and it does not seem unreasonable to regard it as a step away from a strict reproduction of Nicodemus/the Passion des jongleurs. The other instance of the use of "Infernus" in Semur can likewise

be linked to a fairly direct inspiration from the old sources: it is a brief reaction of "Infernus" at the Raising of Lazarus, which, although it has been placed at the time of the actual event, seems based on the traditional memory of it by Infernus before the Harrowing. Admittedly, a scene showing the devils' reaction to the Raising of Lazarus does occur in Greban and Michel, but it is very different, involving all the devils in Hell, not just the chief; anyway, except by the theory that the reaction in Semur comes from the same, older source-inspired hand as the passage at the Harrowing, it is difficult to account for the use of "Infernus" instead of the "Lucifer" that Semur employs in all other cases. Thus much the simplest explanation of the occasional use of "Infernus" in Semur would be that it is found in passages which are more archaic than the rest of the diableries, in which "Lucifer" is used, passages which have presumably survived a remaniement - though any more than this it would not be wise to suggest without a thorough-going analysis of the entire text of Semur. One outside fact which supports the idea that the changing of Infernus into Lucifer does represent a step away from the old sources is that its first occurrence happens to coincide with the abandonment of the old structure of having just the one diablerie at the Harrowing, and obviously this begs the question of whether the two changes vis à vis Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs are in fact linked. Did "Lucifer" enter the drama to serve some purpose particular to it, some feature that did not arise either in the narrative sources or in the fourteenth century plays?

In fact, it is immediately apparent from the role distribution lists given above for the fifteenth century texts that Lucifer is the one recurring devil who is never called upon, at any time, in any play, to leave Hell. Indeed, in Arras he is "bound with a chain in the fires of Hell" (l. 1110 - l. 1111), conspicuously immobile, and in the accounts for the Passion of Mons we find an item for «iii kaisnes (chains) de fer ... pour le deable Lucifer d'Enfer en hault»(79); there is also the chain shown, after a fashion, by Hubert Cailleau under Lucifer's dragon. Thus confined inside Hell, Lucifer holds councils, and receives devils' reports and souls - an

exact parallel to God the Father's role in Heaven. Since Lucifer could not leave Hell, it was left to lesser devils to tackle all the work on earth. Here we see a certain continuity among Arras, Greban and Michel in that the clear leader among these lesser devils active on earth emerges as Satan, whereas in Semur Satan is, as will have appeared from the remarks made above, rather unimportant, and even in the Montferrand play he is less prominent than in Arras, Greban and Michel.

In Arras, Greban and Michel Satan, as Lucifer's earthly representative, parallels Jesus as the Holy Trinity's. Satan does much of the work alone, at times even without Lucifer's advice; in Greban and Michel his personal reactions to events on earth are regularly highlighted. In fact, in all three plays Satan's role is longer than Lucifer's - in Arras, Greban and Michel Satan has, respectively, some 800, 900 and 950 lines, whereas Lucifer has only some 420, 790 and 300. Indeed, this is true also of the Montferrand play, where Satan has some 140 lines and Lucifer only some 80, but Satan would have seemed less important there because he acts less often alone, for instance taking Asmo with him in the Temptation of Jesus. The impact of Satan's acting on his own in Arras, Greban and Michel could well have been enhanced by the silent wanderings about the stage that he may have made between spoken diableries (see pp. 59 - 60, and p. 149), which there is less reason to think that he personally made in the Montferrand play.

Even in Arras, Greban and Michel, however, soul-claiming, as opposed to temptation, is much more of a group activity, though Satan is almost always in the party. The only partial exception is with Judas in Greban and Michel, where Satan's place is taken by the solitary personification of sin, Desesperance; however in Michel Desesperance is not a complete substitute for Satan because he is given a more minor role in the same scene, alongside her. The overall impression is not thereby much reduced, however, that Satan is very much Lucifer's lieutenant.

Who were the devils apart from Lucifer and Satan?

Except in Semur, we find that most have names drawn from the Bible. The most popular were versions of Beelzebub: Belzebut(h), and probably also Baucibus and Burgibus (in Sainte-Geneviève, Semur, Arras, Greban and Michel and the Montferrand play). Then there was Astarot(h), which may have been popular because it made a good contrast with Beelzebub, unlike so many of the other Biblical possibilities, which tend to begin with Be- or Bel- (in Arras, Greban, Michel and the Montferrand play). In the case of Cerberus there were additional qualifications, in the background of the dog-headed guardian of Hades known from the immensely popular Aeneid (Cerberus occurs in Arras, Greban and Michel, and in the latter two he is in fact literally the janitor of Hell, seldom leaving his post). Then there was Berich or Berith, as a devil confined to Greban and Michel, whose attraction may have come from his apparent association with the medieval favourite subject of alchemy. This one was less different from the Beelzebub sort of name, but others that may have been chosen because they were different are Fergalus in Greban (a name taken from epic literature (80)) and Feu Griset in Auvergne. It might be objected that minor devils' names would be comparatively seldom or even never pronounced in performance, and equally that spectators would perhaps not in any case be very interested in catching them, and indeed these are fair points. However it was the general practice of vernacular authors, as time went on, to name even the most incidental characters in their plays - porters and so on - and minor devils' names are part of this trend. Probably the use of such names was as much for the author's and the actors' convenience as for that of the audience, to prevent confusion in writing and rehearsal, hence the search for distinctiveness.

If we go by having a background in the Bible or some other respected serious work about the underworld, then Fergalus and Feu Griset are the least adapted figures to be regular devils, and in this light it may be significant that in Greban's successor Michel Fergalus has been dropped, and in the Baptism and Temptation, Feu Griset. Anyway, like Arras's unique child devils, Fergalus and Feu Griset have only quite

small roles. Moreover, Fergalus's role in Greban actually overlaps with that of Belzebuth, which, for some now unknowable reason, peters out in the middle of the play. In suppressing Fergalus and attributing most of his lines to Belzebuth, J. Michel may have meant to tidy up his predecessor's play, although he does transfer Fergalus's only moment of prominence, the exorcism scene, to Astaroth instead.

The only other aspect of the stage devils that remains to be compared with the popular beliefs of the time is the way that they moved about the stage, specifically from the point of view of whether or not they were meant to be notionally visible. It was mentioned in Chapter I, pp. 59 - 60, that there is evidence of devils in various plays silently approaching human characters in order to "tempt" them; to this we may add the possibility that when, in Arras, Greban and Michel, it occurs that devils are sent notionally into the world with a less exact brief - to do evil in general or (as in Greban for instance) to keep an eye on Jesus - then they would move about likewise amongst the human characters. Presumably at such times they would be supposed to be invisible; certainly if during temptation they have to converse with their victim, as opposed to merely speak in his or her ear without a reply, then they disguise themselves as shown above (pp. 133 - 134). Possible evidence for this suggestion is in the fact that in Fouquet's picture of the Martyre de Sainte Apolline, there can be seen, on the left behind the fool and the boureau pulling the saint's hair, a devil probably urging him on; since in none of the extensive torture scenes in our Passions does any devil speak, it could be argued that quite possibly neither would this devil pictured in the play have done so (as far as script is concerned, devils seem to have limited themselves almost exclusively to scenes inside Hell, temptations and soul-claimings on earth). Therefore the devil in the picture was very likely meant to be invisible to the other characters, and his presence was intended to unveil to the spectators something normally hidden to human eyes.

It is possible that stage devils might also have "flown".

Stage devils seem to have sometimes worn wings (see above, p. 131), and an eye-witness at Valenciennes in 1547 describes the devils as "lifting" souls "into the air" (see Chapter I, p. 68), which seems to imply that they were themselves "flying". Elie Konigson, in his reconstruction of the performance at Valenciennes, suggested that devils would have slid up and down along ropes strung between Hell and the nearby sets (81), ropes which were left out of Hubert Cailleau's idealised picture. Yet the performance at Valenciennes was deliberately, and probably exceptionally, lavish (see Chapter I, pp. 68 - 69); there is no proof of any arrangements for simulated flying in the accounts for the Passion at Montferrand or at Mons, and flying is mentioned but once in any of our texts, Semur 1. 1188: «Va volant en l'air comme foudre»}, which could be simply imaginary, like so much else about the devils' powers. Thus it may well be that simulated flying was not a regular means of moving about for stage devils; probably they generally walked.

What, then, is the overall conclusion to be drawn from this comparison of the theory and practice of Hell and the devils on stage with the contemporary beliefs about their real counterparts?

On the whole, it has been obvious enough that in both theory and probably practice the French Passion plays were aiming for as much authenticity as possible. Most of the structure of the set of Hell, with Limbo on a high level and Hell proper, with the tortures, at the lowest, corresponds well to current beliefs, as does the simulated use of props such as the cauldron, clubs and hooks, wheels and reptiles, and of effects of fire, smoke, noise and sulphur fumes. Even the gueule d'enfer itself, which very likely was made to "swallow" souls on their first arrival, corresponds to the descriptions found in popular sources of vast soul-eating monsters in Hell. The devils, likewise, had the supposedly charred and monstrous appearance credited to the Fallen Angels, with whom they were identified first and foremost by

name, but they were also closely associated with popular ideas about demons by their behaviour either as illustrated in the actual action or as described in the text - by their ability to range about any part or division of the world by any means or in any guise convenient, or invisibly, by their wide powers to cause physical or emotional havoc, by their capacity for "paranormal" perception, by their propensity for possession. Certainly, there is in all this a bias towards the material at the expense of development of the spiritual, although in their text the plays do sometimes mention the eternal despair suffered by the damned and the devils alike, so this aspect is not actually neglected entirely, though indeed it is not large either. In part this is probably because popular vernacular accounts of Hell and the devil did always tend to dwell on the sensational material side; this is not unique to the drama and did not originate there. At the same time, the bias is actually deliberate, as there is intended to be a contrast between the spiritual aspirations of the good characters and the unremitting materialism of the bad, who include tyrants, bourreaux and Pharisees as well as devils; hence the devils' failure to comprehend Jesus's nature to any useful extent (see Chapter I, pp. 96 - 97).

Thus without doubt the French Passions, in trying to be as authentic as possible about Hell and the devils in order to teach and warn about them, looked in the first place to contemporary popular vernacular narratives, sermons and pictures to provide the details they needed. Yet at the same time the stage imposed its own limitations. The tortures likely to have been actually staged were those best adapted: the cauldron, clubbing and the like rather than hurricane winds and rivers of ice. The purpose of the textual descriptions of Hell was almost certainly to compensate for these limitations.

The stage soon came to generate new expectations of its own, though, and these too had their effect. On the fifteenth century stage it was without doubt the custom to place the chief devil Lucifer in a level of Hell above the tortures in

the bottom; yet, according to other sources outside the drama, such as the Vision of Tundal or the Limbourg brothers, Lucifer was supposed to be confined in the very depths of Hell, in the midst of the tortures. One reason for this alteration of "reality" was probably simply so that Lucifer could be better heard; being inside the gueule, even when it was open, would inevitably have tended to muffle sound. (It may be significant in this respect that once, in Semur, the devils probably are meant to come out of Hell before a council with Lucifer: "Hic vadunt diaboli exeuntes in parco [ad] infernum ad computandum" (l. 5347 - l. 5348) (82). "In parco" may mean that they assembled on the stage or playing area in front of the gueule; certainly, in both Fouquet's and Cailleau's pictures there are devils in front of it seemingly addressing or being addressed by Lucifer above - even though the devil in Cailleau's picture does look as if he is actually leaving Hell altogether on an errand, Fouquet's devils do look more static. It may be, therefore, that most, if not all, of the devils' spoken work was carried on, for acoustic reasons, outside the gueule.) However, in Lucifer's case, there was probably a second motive also: sitting in the upper part of Hell he paralleled God the Father sitting opposite him in Heaven. This visible rivalry was meant to symbolise the struggle between God and Lucifer for mastery of the human race, and, as such, it resembled the rivalry that there might have been down on the stage or playing area between the movements of Jesus and a silently spying Satan. However the static rivalry of God and Lucifer was the more important because it was the more permanent, and this seems to be the real reason for placing Lucifer above the gueule: to make sure that he remained always on view.

Considerations special to the stage were brought to bear on the diableries in many other ways too, however, and especially so in areas where "authentic" belief could not be of so much help, such as over the devils' personal behaviour towards one another, or even over something apparently so elementary as how many devils to include in a play. In the next Chapter we look at this side of the diableries, at their links not with outside influences but with their surroundings within each play.



Satan in Hell by the Limbourg brothers in Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry; from D.D.R. Owen, The Vision of Hell, Edinburgh and London, 1970, frontispiece

CHAPTER III

THE INTEGRATION OF THE DEVILS ' BEHAVIOUR INTO
THE MORAL CONVENTIONS OF THE PASSION PLAYS

Perhaps the most fundamental level at which the overall conventions of the fifteenth and sixteenth century French Passion plays affected the devils was, quite simply, in fixing their numbers. It has already been noted in Chapter II (p. 124) that the theoretical numbers of real devils were impossibly large, running into millions. In the fourteenth century there never seem to have been more than two speaking devils, which appears to stem more from the influence of the sources Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs than from the plays themselves. However this is not the case for the later texts. In these, except if tradition dictates otherwise, there are approximately six to ten speaking characters in each major group who would have acted more or less together or had their own structure in the set. To take as examples plays from near the beginning and the end of the fifteenth century or the start of the sixteenth: in Semur there are ten wholly divine characters, seven individuals in the first Herod's court, and eleven Pharisees; in Auvergne A there are eleven characters in Herod's court, and six in the group of the miracle of the child revived from death; in Auvergne B there are eight bourreaux; in the Baptism and Temptation there are four wholly divine characters and seven Pharisees. Thus it will be seen that the average number of speaking devils for plays of this period - eight - is also about the average number for all types of major character. Thus there is little doubt that this is probably how the devils' numbers were fixed.

At the same time, the devils were affected by a whole web of less universal conventions. All the plays' characters seem to have been "marked" as attracted to good or evil, placed in the underlying moral polarity of the action, by the details of their behaviour. In this way the devils were contrasted with the good and divine characters and associated with a diversity of bad ones, ranging from the rich and powerful such as the Pharisees, both the Herods and Pilate, down to far lowlier bourreaux and servants. Indeed, the devils even shared some proper names with them:

Agrapart: A devil in Arras, but a bourreau in Greban, the Passion de Mons and the Actes des Apôtres (1)

- Berich/Berith: A devil in Greban and Michel, but a Pharisee in Semur, the Baptism and Temptation and Auvergne
- Fergalus: A devil in Greban, but a bourreau in the Mystère de Sainte Barbe (2)
- Gombaut: A devil mentioned in Arras, but also a (speaking) shepherd there and in the Passion de Mons, a bourreau in the Mystère de Sainte Barbe and Pilate's servant in Semur (3)
- Grongnart: A devil mentioned in Arras, but a bourreau in Greban
- Rifflart: A devil mentioned in Arras, but a bourreau in Semur

There are also some pejorative devils' nicknames which are very close to the names of bourreaux:

- Dentart: A devil mentioned in Arras, but close in spirit to <<Claquedent >>, a bourreau in Greban
- Nazart: A devil mentioned in Arras, but quite like <<Narinart >>, a bourreau in Greban
- Urlant: A devil mentioned in Arras, but of similar inspiration to <<Brayart >> and <<Broyeffort >> (from <<braire >>), bourreaux in Greban

All this indicates that there was a sort of pool, particularly of lowly and bad characters' names, from which minor devils' names could be taken, suggesting that they were all thought of as belonging to one and the same category.

Much more conspicuous than minor names, however, were the recurring parallel patterns of behaviour seen in the diableries and certain other types of scene. These have been termed here "routines". They are listed below, in no special order, save that the first three are given, for convenience, in the order in which they are sometimes seen combined in a single devil-scene. Apart from the component after which the individual routines have been named - Lucifer's summons, a devil's report or a discussion, and so on - none is actually compulsory and so not necessarily found in every example. However an indication will be given, if this is warranted, of the relative complexity of each routine in the different texts.

- (i) The "summons" routine

- Lucifer summons one or more devils
or
orders a herald, or Satan, to call them on his behalf
- the other devils discuss whether or not to answer, or make
some other delay
- the devils assemble before Lucifer
- Satan makes a mocking greeting; Lucifer retorts

<u>Semur:</u>	1.	748	-	1.	771	(after the Temptation of Eve)
		1187	-	1.	1204	(before the discussion linked to the Flood)
		5324	-	1.	5347	(before the decision to tempt Judas)
<u>Arras:</u>	1.	1111	-	1.	1145	(after the Annunciation)
		6705	-	1.	6737	(before the Temptation of Jesus)
		20529	-	1.	20531	} (before the Harrowing of Hell)
		20810	-	1.	20822	
<u>Greban:</u>	1.	3705	-	1.	3869	(after the Annunciation)
		26379	-	1.	26394	(after the Harrowing)
		28868	-	1.	28923	(at the discussion before the Resurrection)
<u>Baptism and Temptation:</u>	1.	565	-	1.	570	(before the Temptation of Jesus)

It will be seen at once that this routine occurs only in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century texts. However it seems to be a more complex version of a call to the devils to pay attention, not necessarily by Lucifer, which could happen in earlier plays, presumably as a mildly emphatic way of launching a diablerie; examples of this are Palatinus l. 1235, Semur l. 4127, l. 4213 - l. 4214, l. 5208, l. 8425; Arras l. 18062, Greban l. 1642, - l. 1643, l. 7297 - l. 7300, l. 10451, l. 23270 - l. 23271, l. 31925 - l. 31926; Michel l. 2196 - l. 2197, l. 7790 - l. 7795. The summons proper would seem to be a more elaborate form that developed for use with a larger cast and more complex production, mainly in

important scenes, such as "key" diableries like the temptation of Eve, of Jesus or of Judas, or the Harrowing, and/or during the initial diablerie of a Journée, especially the first, as is the case in the first examples of both Arras and Greban, and the example in the Baptism and Temptation, and in the third example in Greban as well. It was a deliberate parading of the powers of darkness, which served to support the serious significance of their role, and also simply a way of (re-)familiarising spectators with them all after an interval; however because naturally this took up some time, the full process occurs only in more leisurely texts (Semur, Arras, Greban and the Baptism and Temptation and not the short early ones). Its absence from Michel seems to be due at root to the fact that Greban had none in the second and third Journées, of which Michel is an adaptation, but, as we shall see later, it is also true that J. Michel did not apparently care for elaborate displays from devils anyway, so that he did not produce any new summonses of his own.

Alongside this serious purpose, though, the summons also had some comic possibilities. Chief among these is the devils' marked reluctance to answer it at all. In Arras l. 1132 - l. 1139 they discuss who is going to take on the chore, and finally pick on Satan, while in Greban l. 3760 - l. 3807 they hold a pseudo-legal discussion about the penalties prescribed in Hell's "house rules" for non-attendance, and in l. 28898 - l. 28917 Satan delays the proceedings for some minutes by struggling into a pair of boots. (In Semur, on the other hand, when the devils are unafraid to face Lucifer because they have good news, they declare cheerfully «D'exempcion n'avons pas tiltre » (l. 1201) and they present themselves promptly.) In Arras l. 6705 - l. 6735 the grown-up devils delay, but the two apprentices Gravet and Soufflet shame them by appearing at once, all eager to do Lucifer's bidding. Another comic detail could be the playing of a raucous trumpet by the herald (Semur l. 5325 - l. 5326: "Hic debet CLAMATOR bucinare"; Greban l. 3746 - l. 3759). In Greban l. 3828 - l. 3867, the devils "sing", after their own fashion, a grim anthem about being in death's thrall.

At both the serious and the comic level, the devils' summons routine paralleled activities elsewhere in the Passion plays. Perhaps the closest echo, since it involves the devils themselves, is the cry of a suicide for them to come and claim his soul (Semur l. 6664 - l. 6665; Arras l. 5459 - l. 5482, l. 13075 - l. 13142; Greban l. 21754 - l. 21767; Michel l. 23607 - l. 23718, l. 23865 - l. 23872), but a more exact parallel to the full-blown form would be the sometimes long-drawn-out assembly of participants in human conferences of Pharisees and the train of tyrants like Herod (for example in Palatinus l. 1554 - l. 1578; Biard l. 1679 - l. 1708; Semur l. 5398 - l. 5408; Arras l. 8380 - l. 8488; Greban l. 15258 - l. 15333; Michel l. 11219 - l. 11268; Baptism and Temptation l. 403 - l. 428). Another parallel is the summoning by such types of their servants or bourreaux (Greban l. 18564 - l. 18568, l. 18603 - l. 18606, l. 21040 - l. 21044; Michel l. 23336 - l. 23357); they are not always over-eager to reply (Greban l. 17769 - l. 17792). The pompous villains often have a herald to provide trumpet flourishes (Semur l. 2390 - l. 2391; Arras l. 15755 - l. 15758; Greban l. 23954 - l. 23964); the devils' trumpets also contrast, obviously, with the melodious angels' ones, just as their "anthem" is a parody of the heavenly choir.

(iii) The "discussion" or "report" routine

- a devil or devils speak up in Hell
or
arrive before Lucifer (either from the earth or after a summons)
- Lucifer questions him/them
- he/they make a report
- Lucifer reacts as appropriate
- the devils discuss what to do next, or do as appropriate

Palatinus: l. 1235 - l. 1395 (at the Harrowing; mixed with "humiliation" and "triumph" - see below)

- Sainte-Genevieve: 1. 3913 - 1. 3968 (at the Harrowing)
- Semur: 1. 1205 - 1. 1238 (at the council linked to the Flood)
1. 5348 - 1. 5389 (before the decision to tempt Judas)
1. 8425 - 1. 8500 (before the Harrowing)
1. 8759 - 1. 8780 (after the Harrowing)
- Arras: 1. 1146 - 1. 1169 (after the Annunciation)
1. 2423 - 1. 2436 (at the witch's soul scene)
1. 5073 - 1. 5123 (after the Slaughter of the Innocents)
1. 7036 - 1. 7043 (after the Temptation of Jesus)
1. 7890 - 1. 7912 (after the Exorcism)
1. 13103 - 1. 13115 (before the claiming of Judas's soul)
1. 14164 - 1. 14175 (before Pilate's Wife's Dream)
1. 17682 - 1. 17726 (after the claiming of the Bad Thief's soul)
1. 18078 - 1. 18161)
1. 20657 - 1. 20770) (at the Harrowing)
- Greban: 1. 661 - 1. 670 (before the Temptation of Eve)
1. 3874 - 1. 3945 (after the Annunciation)
1. 7297 - 1. 7382 (after the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple)
1. 7419 - 1. 7449 (before the Slaughter of the Innocents)
1. 10471 - 1. 10514)
1. 10545 - 1. 10554) (before the Temptation of Jesus)
1. 10683 - 1. 10710 (after the Temptation of Jesus)
1. 12337 - 1. 12346 (after the Exorcism)
1. 15100 - 1. 15155 (after the Raising of Lazarus; overlaps in part with a "humiliation" - see below)

1. 17339 - 1. 17356)
 1. 17413 - 1. 17428 } (before the Temptation
 1. 17439 - 1. 17452 } of Judas)
 1. 23270 - 1. 23339)
 1. 23360 - 1. 23391 } (before Pilate's Wife's
 Dream)
 1. 24480 - 1. 24507 (before the Crucifixion)
 1. 26224 - 1. 26229 (before the Harrowing)
 1. 26359 - 1. 26370 (after the Harrowing)
 1. 28924 - 1. 28969 (before the Resurrection)
 1. 31925 - 1. 31986 (after the Resurrection)
 1. 33408 - 1. 33465 (after the Ascension)

Baptism and
Temptation:

1. 571 - 1. 659 (before the Temptation
of Jesus)
 1. 827 - 1. 832 (after the Temptation
of Jesus)

Auvergne:

1. 113 - 1. 160 (before the Temptation
of Herod's Family)
 1. 3260 - 1. 3269 (before the Harrowing)

Michel:

1. 2230 - 1. 2281 } (before the Temptation
 1. 2316 - 1. 2357 } of Jesus)
 1. 3103 - 1. 3206 (after the Temptation
of Jesus)
 1. 7796 - 1. 7831 (after the arrival in
Limbo of John the
Baptist's soul)
 1. 8431 - 1. 8442 (after the Exorcism)
 1. 13877 - 1. 13930 (after the Raising of
Lazarus; overlaps in part
with a "humiliation" -
see below)

1. 17230 - 1. 17247)
 1. 17298 - 1. 17313 } (before the Temptation
 1. 17326 - 1. 17353 } of Judas)
 1. 25493 - 1. 25570) (before Pilate's Wife's
 1. 25571 - 1. 25633) Dream)
 1. 27054 - 1. 27081 (before the Crucifixion)
 1. 28644 - 1. 28649 (before the Fortification
of Hell)
 1. 28676 - 1. 28683 (before the claiming of
the Bad Thief's soul)

The earliest form that this routine took was the traditional discussion among the devils just before the Harrowing, based on Nicodemus/Passion des jongleurs-type sources, but in the fifteenth century, with the introduction of the presiding figure of Lucifer, it grew more elaborate and was extended to many other episodes. Indeed, in Arras, Greban and Michel and what we have of the Montferrand play, there is a discussion around virtually every important episode. Possibly this might have resulted from the influence of sources other than Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs; for instance, in the Postilla of Nicholas of Lyra, the devils are made to take some thought before both the Temptation of Jesus and the visit to Pilate's Wife (4). Thus there was probably a widespread idea that devils were very liable to have conferences. Nonetheless, in Semur not every action by the devils is prepared by a real conference; before some episodes (the Temptation of Eve, the claiming of John the Baptist's soul, and the Temptation of Jesus), Lucifer combines a summons with his own exposition of the situation and gives orders without taking advice from his subordinates. In Greban this is the case also, but uniquely, before the Temptation of Eve. Probably the aim is to attribute the Fall of Man specifically to the Prince of Darkness himself, the exact rival to God who created man; compare the care which A. Greban takes to bring Lucifer to the fore, over and above Satan, when it comes to the final stages of the attempt to stop the Redemption of Man (see p. 96 above in Chapter I). Elsewhere in Semur, however, the relative scarcity of discussions as compared to Arras, Greban and Michel seems to have more to do with the absence of Satan as Lucifer's lieutenant whose constant task it is, precisely, to report regularly to him on what is happening on earth, and to advise him, especially so in Greban and Michel where the devils are carrying out a long-term plan which needs frequent co-ordinating. In Arras, and probably also in the Montferrand play, the devils' actions were more episodic and so less in need of constant explanations. The fact that, even so, discussions are more frequent in Arras is simply because, being more verbose, that play has more diableries.

The devils' sometimes painstakingly reasoned arguments, in which the subject in hand is gone over point by point in depth,

(especially prominent in Greban and, even more, in Michel) make a parallel with the pompous and pedantic councils of the Pharisees, most notably with the debate of the Doctors in the Temple (compare Arras l. 6130 - l. 6400, Greban l. 8416 - l. 9143, l. 9525 - l. 9936 and Michel l. 1245 - l. 1547 with Greban l. 10495 - l. 10512, l. 10689 - l. 10710, l. 15124 - l. 15147, l. 23310 - l. 23323, but especially with l. 3874 - l. 3961, and with Michel l. 2212 - l. 2219, l. 2254 - l. 2279, l. 2316 - l. 2339, l. 13901 - l. 13922, l. 25509 - l. 25548). In Michel, the devil also uses scholarly, or at least logical, argumentation when tempting Jesus (l. 2728 - l. 3069, l. 3123 - l. 3200) and Judas (l. 17400 - l. 17473, l. 19012 - l. 19064), and this heavy emphasis on reason is meant, in whoever uses it, to contrast with the instant, total understanding of divine minds, which have, as J. Michel puts it:

... science infuse,
tres distincte et non confuse
en leur tres cler entendement
pour entendre subitement,
sans discours scientifique (l. 391 - l. 395)

In other words, <<discours scientifique>> is the mark of spiritual inadequacy (compare p. 92 in Chapter I and p. 126 in Chapter II).

(iii) The orders/dismissal routine

- Lucifer (or the chief devil) gives an order, or delegates it to a subordinate
- a devil makes a suggestion or a request
- Lucifer equips a departing devil or devils with a "letter of commission" or a set of clerks, or the like
- Lucifer gives his "blessing" to a departing devil, or the devil blesses himself

Sainte-Genevieve: l. 3978 - l. 3982 (at the Harrowing)
Semur: l. 555 - l. 585 (before the Temptation of Eve)
 l. 4127 - l. 4141 (before claiming John the Baptist's soul)
 l. 4215 - l. 4236 (before the Temptation of Jesus)
 l. 5390 - l. 5397 (before the Temptation of Judas)

1. 8501 - 1. 8505)
 1. 8774 - 1. 8780 } (at the Harrowing)
- Arras: 1. 1170 - 1. 1213 (after the
 Annunciation)
 1. 2437 - 1. 2440 (at the witch's soul
 scene)
 1. 5124 - 1. 5144 (after the Slaughter
 of the Innocents)
 1. 6738 - 1. 6745 (before the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 13115 - 1. 13122 (before the claiming
 of Judas's soul)
 1. 14176 - 1. 14194 (before Pilate's Wife's
 Dream)
 1. 18162 - 1. 18231)
 1. 20799 - 1. 20840 } (at the Harrowing)
- Greban: 1. 667 - 1. 684 (before the Temptation
 of Eve)
 1. 1642 - 1. 1651 (before the claiming of
 Adam's and Eve's souls)
 1. 1712 - 1. 1715 (after the claiming of
 Adam's and Eve's souls)
 1. 3946 - 1. 3978 (after the Annunciation)
 1. 7450 - 1. 7462 (after the Slaughter
 of the Innocents)
 1. 10555 - 1. 10563 (before the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 10711 - 1. 10720 (after the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 15156 - 1. 15169 (after the Raising of
 Lazarus)
 1. 17429 - 1. 17438)
 1. 17453 - 1. 17464 } (before the Temptation
 of Judas)
 1. 21768 - 1. 21789 (before the claiming of
 Judas's soul)
 1. 23340 - 1. 23341)
 1. 23398 - 1. 23408 } (before Pilate's Wife's
 Dream)
 1. 24508 - 1. 24515)
 1. 24524 - 1. 24529 } (before the Crucifixion)
 1. 26230 - 1. 26235 (before the Harrowing)
 1. 26415 - 1. 26425 (after the Harrowing)
 1. 28970 - 1. 28986 (before the Resurrection)

1. 31987 - 1. 32002 (after the Resurrection)
- Baptism and Temptation: 1. 660 - 1. 699 (before the Temptation of Jesus)
- Auvergne: 1. 161 - 1. 174 (before the Temptation of Herod's Family)
1. 3270 - 1. 3273 (at the Harrowing)
- Michel: 1. 2228 - 1. 2229 } (before the
1. 2360 - 1. 2366 } Temptation of Jesus)
1. 7840 - 1. 7845 (after the arrival in Limbo of John the Baptist's soul)
1. 13931 - 1. 13946 (after the Raising of Lazarus)
1. 17314 - 1. 17325 } (before the Temptation
1. 17354 - 1. 17357 } of Judas)
1. 23695 - 1. 23712 (before the claiming of Judas's soul)
1. 25634 - 1. 25644 (before Pilate's Wife's Dream)
1. 27082 - 1. 27089)
1. 27098 - 1. 27103 } (before the Crucifixion)
1. 28650 - 1. 28655)
1. 28684 - 1. 28695 } (before the Harrowing)

The core of this routine is the orders component, and it was not until quite a late stage (in Greban) that it became regularly more complex, although there are two "blessings", one from Lucifer and one self-administered, in Arras. Even so, in Greban there is no "letter of commission" stage. This first appears even later, in the Montferrand play; in fact its absence from Michel too would tend to suggest that it may be actually a special feature of the Montferrand, and not of the Arras-Greban-Michel, tradition. Both these elaborations, the "blessing" by Lucifer and the giving of a "letter of commission", gave an opportunity for some comedy if desired, as devils sometimes try to rush off without staying for them (as in the Baptism and Temptation 1. 662 - 1. 669), or they may have to remind the impatient Lucifer that his blessing - which gives the necessary power for a task - is required (as in Greban 1. 3970 - 1. 3973, 1. 28980 - 1. 28981). This is

commonest before a major event, like the Temptation of Jesus.

Lucifer's "blessing" was verbally adapted to suit the devils; he invokes the devil, and, within an otherwise similar type of formula, this made a contrast with the farewells of other types of character in the plays which call on God's blessing. Lucifer's words, which are sometimes rather elaborate, also paralleled the pompous leave-takings of bad rulers and Pharisees, as will be shown in the following Chapter.

The last three routines - summons, discussion/report and orders/dismissal - often combine in pairs or all together to form a kind of diablerie in which the devils assess the current situation in the rest of the play and decide their next move, which is used from Semur onwards to link the recurrent diableries into their surroundings, either on an episodic or a long-term basis. This type of diablerie is evidence of a desire not only to integrate the diableries in their own right into the rest of the action, but in a wider way to illustrate the overall interweaving of the divine, human and infernal worlds. For instance, some of these diableries are but one of two or three glimpses in turn at divine, human or infernal reaction to the same event. For example, after the Raising of Lazarus in Greban we are shown first Lucifer's reaction in Hell, then Satan's on earth, and then the Pharisees' on earth (l. 15206 - l. 15373); in Michel, after the Temptation of Jesus, we see first God's reaction in Heaven (l. 3085 - l. 3102), then the devils' consternation in Hell. Perhaps the best case, though, is at the start of the first Journée in Greban, where events in Limbo produce a debate in Heaven leading to the despatch of Gabriel to earth to carry out the Annunciation (l. 2072 - l. 3350); these same cries from Limbo, however, set off a parallel council and decision in Hell, resulting in the sending of Satan, too, to the earth.

The following diableries have this kind of treatment:

Temptation of Eve:	<u>Semur</u> l.	555 - l.	585
	<u>Greban</u> l.	661 - l.	684
After the Flood:	<u>Semur</u> l.	1187 - l.	1238

After the Annunciation:	<u>Arras</u>	1.	1111	-	1.	1213
	<u>Greban</u>	1.	3705	-	1.	3978
Around the Slaughter of the Innocents:	<u>Arras</u>	1.	5073	-	1.	5144
	<u>Greban</u>	1.	7297	-	1.	7462
Temptation of Jesus:	<u>Semur</u>	1.	4213	-	1.	4236
	<u>Arras</u>	1.	6705	-	1.	6745
	<u>Greban</u>	1.	10451	-	1.	10563
			1. 10683	-	1.	10720
	<u>Baptism and Temptation</u>	1.	565	-	1.	699
	<u>Michel</u>	1.	2196	-	1.	2366
			1. 3103	-	1.	3206
Temptation of Herod's Family:	<u>Auvergne</u>	1.	113	-	1.	174
Claiming/Arrival in Hell of John the Baptist's Soul:	<u>Semur</u>	1.	4127	-	1.	4141
	<u>Michel</u>	1.	7790	-	1.	7845
Reaction to the Raising of Lazarus:	<u>Greban</u>	1.	15100	-	1.	15169
	<u>Michel</u>	1.	13877	-	1.	13946
Decision to tempt Judas:	<u>Semur</u>	1.	5324	-	1.	5397
	<u>Greban</u>	1.	17413	-	1.	17464
	<u>Michel</u>	1.	17298	-	1.	17357
Visit to Pilate's Wife:	<u>Arras</u>	1.	14164	-	1.	14194
	<u>Greban</u>	1.	23270	-	1.	23341
			1. 23360	-	1.	23408
	<u>Michel</u>	1.	25493	-	1.	25570
			1. 25571	-	1.	25644
Before the Crucifixion:	<u>Greban</u>	1.	24480	-	1.	24529
	<u>Michel</u>	1.	27054	-	1.	27103
Before the Resurrection:	<u>Greban</u>	1.	28868	-	1.	28986
After the Resurrection:	<u>Greban</u>	1.	31925	-	1.	32002
After the Ascension:	<u>Greban</u>	1.	33408	-	1.	33465

(iv) The soul-claiming routine - "successful" type
- the devils urge a victim to commit suicide

- a devil notes down a "will" in writing
- the devils assist with the suicide
- the devils search inside the body for the soul
- the devils take the body, or the soul, or both, to Hell
- the devils present their trophy, or trophies, to Lucifer
- (if righteous) the body, or the soul, is put in Limbo
or
(if wicked) it or they are put to the torture

(The reason that a distinction is being made between body and soul is that some plays specify, through directions, that a dummy soul was being used as well as or instead of the live actor, while others do not, making it possible that the live actor served for the dead soul also, and was taken to Hell just as he was.) Examples are as follows:

<u>Semur:</u>	1. 839 - 1. 844 (Abel)	
	1. 4164 - 1. 4185 (John the Baptist)	
	1. 6666 - 1. 6684 (Judas)	
<u>Arras:</u>	1. 2393 - 1. 2398	} (witch)
	1. 2441 - 1. 2456	
	1. 5485 - 1. 5534 (Herod)	
	1. 13135 - 1. 13186 (Judas)	
	1. 17664 - 1. 17685	} (Bad Thief)
	1. 17727 - 1. 17729	
<u>Greban:</u>	1. 1214 - 1. 1229 (Abel)	
	1. 1698 - 1. 1709 (Adam and Eve)	
	1. 7926 - 1. 7995 (Herod)	
	1. 21790 - 1. 22176 (Judas)	
	1. 26613 - 1. 26616 (Bad Thief)	
<u>Auvergne:</u>	1. 641 - 1. 663 (John the Baptist)	
	1. 3786 - 1. 3817 (Bad Thief)	
<u>Michel:</u>	1. 23719 - 1. 24070 (Judas)	
	1. 28910 - 1. 28913 (Bad Thief)	

(v) The soul-claiming routine - "unsuccessful" type

- the devils argue or struggle in vain with angels over a (righteous) soul

Arras: 1. 17568 - 1. 17659 (Good Thief)

Auvergne: 1. 3836 - 1. 3855 (Good Thief)

Generally, the frequency of both these soul-claiming routines depends on how many souls become available from the main action, with the sole exception of the "superfluous" witch's soul scene in Arras, discussed in Chapter I, pp. 70 - 71. The "unsuccessful" type of soul-claiming is the rarer because it can occur only after the Redemption of Man; only then can custody of a soul be denied completely to the devils, because before it even righteous souls have to go to Limbo. This produced sometimes a kind of compromise between an entirely "successful" and an entirely "unsuccessful" soul-claiming: the devils seize the righteous soul, but find that they have no power to harm it, as happens with John the Baptist in Semur, or they are beaten by an angel protecting the soul, as happens with John the Baptist in Auvergne ("Tunc percutiat Guabriel demones", l. 646 - l. 647), or they may simply be disgusted at having to put it in Limbo and not in Hell proper, as with Abel in Greban; yet they do not actually lose it in the end, although the soul may find its own way to Limbo, as does John the Baptist in Auvergne - "Tunc ascendat anima ad limbos", l. 655 - l. 656 - and in Semur Adam is taken to (it seems) Hell by one Mors Naturalis, not apparently a devil like Mors Inferni (see Chapter I, note 63).

The soul-claiming routine as a whole may originally have been entirely mimed (see Chapter I, page 59). It became more elaborate, certainly, with the introduction of Lucifer, from Semur onwards, who inspects each soul as it is brought in. From Arras onwards there may be scripted torture of the soul. Possibly this might have been mimed before, but there is no evidence, and a counter-argument would be that it is not until scripted torture scenes appeared that other evidence is found confirming that measures were used that called for the use of dummy substitutes for real actors, or for devils, who (see below) were also liable to be tortured. For example, the accounts for the Passion de Mons in 1501 mention a «faulx corps de Sathan»(5). Anyway, from Semur onwards the devils may take a

dummy, depending on how realistically the process was handled; the chief case was that of Judas, who was usually disembowelled: in Semur l. 6676 - l. 6677 "Hic moritur et crepat medius, et DIABOLI capiant animam ejus", in Arras l. 13163 - l. 13164 «Adonc l'effondre et trouve son ame» and in Michel l. 23984 - l. 23985 «Ycy creve Judas par le ventre et les trippes saillent dehors et l'ame sort». However this was not necessarily the only case, for at Mons it was specified at one point that the devils were to take «l'ame de Herode ... et non le corps» (6). Very likely the precise arrangements in a play were a matter of individual choice. The actual torture, if used, was accompanied by sadistic, self-righteous gloatings, and, if it was a beating, by rhythmic "games" of taking it in turns to strike, all of which are found also in torture scenes featuring human bourreaux (see the following Chapter).

(vi) The "humiliation" routine

- a humiliated devil or devils cry out in despair
- Lucifer berates a subordinate who has failed
- the devils quarrel with each other or (once, in Arras) with the souls in Limbo
- Lucifer order a devil to be punished by torture
or
his fellow devils set on the victim spontaneously
- the victim pleads for mercy while his torturers gloat
- the victim refuses to continue with the task that has caused his punishment
- Lucifer forgives him

<u>Palatinus</u> :	l. 1279 - l. 1395	(at the Harrowing; in part overlaps with a "discussion" - see above)
	l. 1411 - l. 1420	(at the Harrowing)
<u>Sainte-Geneviève</u> :	l. 4027 - l. 4077	(at the Harrowing)
<u>Semur</u> :	l. 404 - l. 446	(after the Fall of the Angels)
	l. 8692 - l. 8726	} (at the Harrowing)
	l. 8744 - l. 8758	
<u>Arras</u> :	l. 2399 - l. 2422	(at the witch scene)

1. 6871 - 1. 6877 } (during the
 1. 6938 - 1. 6943 } Temptation of Jesus)
 1. 7002 - 1. 7043 (after the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 7865 - 1. 7889 }
 1. 7907 - 1. 7918 } (after the Exorcism)
 1. 20537 - 1. 20788 } (at the Harrowing; in
 1. 20956 - 1. 20993 } part a "discussion" -
 see above)
Greban: 1. 427 - 1. 450 (after the Fall of the
 Angels)
 1. 7377 - 1. 7418 (after the Presentation
 of Jesus at the Temple)
 1. 10515 - 1. 10544 (before the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 10677 - 1. 10682 (during the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 12333 - 1. 12336 }
 1. 12347 - 1. 12350 } (after the Exorcism)
 1. 15100 - 1. 15155 } (after the Raising of
 1. 15170 - 1. 15195 } Lazarus; in part a
 "discussion" - see above)
 1. 17323 - 1. 17339 } (after the failure of
 1. 17357 - 1. 17412 } the Pharisees' plot
 against Jesus)
 1. 23376 - 1. 23380 (before Pilate's Wife's
 Dream)
 1. 25026 - 1. 25055 (during the
 Crucifixion)
 1. 26337 - 1. 26406 (after the Harrowing)
 1. 33331 - 1. 33491 (after the Ascension;
 partly a "discussion" -
 see above)

Baptism and
 Temptation:

- Michel: 1. 833 - 1. 844 (after the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 2282 - 1. 2347 (before the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 2849 - 1. 2854 (during the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 3079 - 1. 3084 (after the Temptation
 of Jesus)
 1. 7790 - 1. 7805 (after John the Baptist's
 soul arrives in Limbo)
 1. 8369 - 1. 8376 }
 1. 8427 - 1. 8430 } (after the Exorcism)
 1. 8443 - 1. 8458 }

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. 13877 - 1. 13930 | } (after the Raising of Lazarus; partly overlaps with "discussion" - see above) |
| 1. 13947 - 1. 13974 | |
| 1. 17214 - 1. 17229 | } (after the failure of the Pharisees' plot against Jesus) |
| 1. 17248 - 1. 17297 | |
| 1. 25587 - 1. 25594 | (before Pilate's Wife's Dream) |
| 1. 27496 - 1. 27525 | } (during the Crucifixion) |
| 1. 28396 - 1. 28415 | |

The origin of this routine seems to have been in Nicodemus/ the Passion des jongleurs or the like, in the form of the devils' bitter recriminations at the Harrowing of Hell, reproduced quite exactly in the fourteenth century plays. However in Semur, with the introduction of Lucifer as the permanent leader, there is a hint of a change not only in the extension of the routine to other episodes, but also in the fact that in l. 1205 - l. 1212 and l. 4130 - l. 4141 Lucifer berates the other devils for letting him down, though without actually having them punished. It is not until Arras that torture is used on devils (as opposed to humans) as a punishment, and in Arras, Greban and Michel and also the Baptism and Temptation it is used to reinforce moments of diabolic failure when these have to be admitted to Lucifer, either in the course of regular "progress reports" or, as in real traumas such as exorcism or rejection by Jesus in the Wilderness, when the devil or devils flee in panic to Hell and have to explain themselves. Especially in Greban and Michel, Lucifer's anger is developed into the starting-point of a full-blown, highly comic torture session. Apart from the sadistic comedy of the torture itself, there is humour in the fact that the other devils sometimes have to be restrained from setting on the victim (usually Satan) before he has even finished making his report (Greban l. 10473 - l. 10494, Michel l. 2232 - l. 2253), and that, once the torture has begun, Lucifer may pretend to be having difficulty in stopping it (Greban l. 10527 - l. 10538, Michel l. 2294 - l. 2303). The tortures used are usually the same as for human souls - the fire, beating, or the like - but once, in Greban, one differs: devils put a red-hot helmet on Satan's head (l. 17392 -

l. 17394); possibly this is meant to be a version in reverse of the crown which in Greban he is awarded when he scores a triumph (see below). Also in Greban and Michel, cries of despair on earth by Satan are used to focus attention more immediately on the cause of these moments of frustration, and so to involve Satan personally in the plot against Jesus; these are not so comic.

Verbally, the devils' cries of despair and bitterness with each other resemble the cries of Judas and the Guards of the Tomb after the Resurrection (see the following Chapter), and certain bursts of rage from tyrants such as Herod, Pilate and the Pharisees; for instance, compare the anger of Annas in Semur l. 6379 - l. 6382:

Oez com ce ribault est fiers!
 Veez com fait la chiere goïffe (rude expression)!
 Il prise ainsin peu Cayffe?
 Frappez sus com sus ung pressour

with that of Lucifer in Arras l. 2399 - l. 2404:

C'est bien emploiet sa saison!
 Est ce quanque tu as conquesté?
 Sus, dyables, tost, qu'il soit froté
 Escouez (thrash) son dors pour la pourre
 Nul ne se fainde de l'escourre.
 Frapez de tors et de travers

or with the cry of the boureau Grongnart in Greban l. 22304 - l. 22309:

Le faulx villain tant me desplest
 qu'il m'enffle le cueur de despit!
 ...
 Le feu d'enffer le puist confondre!
 c'est ung villain rebarbatif

and with Satan's anger with Jesus in Arras l. 6938 - l. 6941:

Or sui je droit chetis meschans
 Quant a cestui qui tant me griefve (torments)
 Tant que paines le cuer me crieve
 Me convient par force obeir!

Just as with the torture of humans, the torture of devils

resembles human boureaux scenes (see the following Chapter for the similarity of the language), and also the violent quarrels of Semur's "fool" Rusticus and his family.

The beating of a devil is usually woven into a discussion or report scene, coming between the discussion and the final giving of orders, if any, or it may interrupt the discussion, which is later resumed. Such is the case in the following examples:

After the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple:	<u>Greban</u> 1. 7377 - 1. 7417
At the Temptation of Jesus:	<u>Greban</u> 1. 10515 - 1. 10544
	<u>Baptism and Temptation</u> 1. 833 - 1. 844
	<u>Michel</u> 1. 2282 - 1. 2347
After the failure of the Pharisees' plot against Jesus:	<u>Greban</u> 1. 17357 - 1. 17412
	<u>Michel</u> 1. 17248 - 1. 17297
At the Harrowing:	<u>Arras</u> 1. 20537 - 1. 20788
After the Ascension:	<u>Greban</u> 1. 33462 - 1. 33491

It is the case also in the superfluous scene in Arras with the witch's soul, where Satan has to report on a poor season's work to Lucifer (1. 2399 - 1. 2422). Most of these beatings will be seen to occur after important failures for the devils, where they serve to emphasise the fact.

(vii) The "triumph" routine

- a devil or devils make a speech of rejoicing
- Lucifer congratulates him/them
- the rest of the devils join in the rejoicing
- the triumphant devil is "crowned"

<u>Palatinus</u> :	1. 1235 - 1. 1278	(at the Harrowing; mixed with "discussion" - see above)
<u>Semur</u> :	1. 255 - 1. 304	(before the Fall of the Angels)
	1. 740 - 1. 792	(after the Temptation of Eve)

1. 8425 - 1. 8468 (at the Harrowing; overlaps in part with a "discussion" - see above)
- Arras: 1. 5073 - 1. 5118 (after the Slaughter of the Innocents; overlaps in part with a "discussion" - see above)
- Greban: 1. 861 - 1. 864 } (after the Temptation
1. 910 - 1. 943 } of Eve)
1. 1698 - 1. 1717 (after the claiming of Adam's and Eve's souls)
1. 23342 - 1. 23359 (during Jesus's Trial)
1. 31925 - 1. 31986 (after the Pharisees' cover-up of the Resurrection)
- Michel: 1. 25313 - 1. 25336 (during Jesus's Trial)

The original form of this routine seems to have been Satan's traditional gloating over Jesus's death before the Harrowing, as found in sources such as Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs. In the fifteenth century it was often more complex, owing to the presence of Lucifer and more other devils, but in a way Greban revived the original form when it gave Satan his series of solo speeches, especially the one during Jesus's trial.

If the triumph routine is comparatively rare in the Passion plays, it is because these are, precisely, about the defeat of the devil. It is a different matter in a play such as the Vengeance Jhesucrist, where for the most part they are able to claim good hauls of souls and consequently they are very happy (?).

The triumph is usually attached to a key episode, such as the revolt of the angels, the Fall of Man, and so on, serving to underline its importance. On one occasion, however, the devil's gloating becomes the whole point of a scene and not simply an accessory; this is in Michel during Jesus's trial, where Satan's gloating has been moved forward from its position in Greban, where it immediately preceded the council before Pilate's Wife's Dream. In Michel it is made to occur

at a moment when Jesus has been left on His own in the court:
 <<laissent Jesus tout seul ou pretoire>>(1. 25312 - 1. 25313).
 This is clearly to bring together in contrast the sad Redeemer
 and the jubilant anti-Redeemer.

Verbally, the devils' gloatings sometimes resemble the
 gloatings of human tyrants such as Herod or his retinue, as
 for instance in Arras after the Slaughter of the Innocents.
 Basaacq says to Herod:

Noble roy, faites bonne chiere (look cheerful),
 Car les rues et les sentiers
 Sont plains a mons et a milliers
 Des enfans qu'avons mis a mort,
 Le sang par tout en court si fort
 Que c'est grant beaulté a le vir (1. 5223 - 1. 5228)

This is very close to what Satan tells Lucifer:

... en ont ses gens tué tant
 Qu'a grans ruisseaux le sang humain
 Court en rues a plaine main (1. 5106 - 1. 5108)

This survey of the devils' "routines" of behaviour has
 shown, then, that the devils operate on multiple levels. Some
 of their activities, soul-claiming and also temptation, which
 was described in the previous Chapter (pp. 133 - 134) and which,
 if involving a script, consists of reasoning very much like the
 discussions held inside Hell, are quite serious. Yet much of
 the activity inside Hell apart from discussion tends to be
 somewhat comic. In various ways aspects of both serious and
 comic devil-activities associate the devils with bad human
 types, and contrast them with good human and divine characters.
 Throughout all this we have noted a tendency for the routines to
 grow more complex in most later texts, this being especially true
 of the comic activity inside Hell.

Study in closer detail, through the actual language of the
diableries, to which we now move on, will fill out and clarify
 these first impressions.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTEGRATION OF THE DEVILS' LANGUAGE INTO
THE VERBAL CONVENTIONS OF THE PASSION PLAYS

A: Versification

Almost all of the text of French Passion plays, apart from odd items such as the Roman Emperor's proclamation of the census in the first Journée of Arras (between l. 1781 and l. 1782), is written in verse of the author's choice, according to the tone or pace that he felt appropriate. Thus the versification of the diableries is as vital a part of their language as the actual words used.

The commonest metre in French Passion play diableries as a whole is the octosyllabic couplet, the ordinary metre chosen for most Old French non-lyrical verse and the drama. The only text whose devils fail to employ it at all is Biard, where they are made to reply to Christ's demand at the Harrowing in longer 12-syllable or alexandrine couplets (l. 1870 - l. 1875). The alexandrine, with its slower pace, would produce a more solemn tone than the shorter line, and this is probably why Biard has used it here. However it is interesting also in contrast to the lively Harrowing diablerie of the related Palatinus, which for its part is written wholly in octosyllables, because of the good reason that there is to think that Biard is an adaptation for reading of a play (see Chapter I, p. 41), and not, therefore, of itself intended to be performed. Since in fact this instance of alexandrines in Biard is the only case of their being used by devils in a French Passion play, it is possible to argue that their presence actually indicates a detachment from practical performance, a confirmation that Biard was not written for the stage. Certainly, we shall see below that the general trend is very much for devils to use short lines rather than long. Nevertheless it is not the norm that the octosyllabic couplet is the sole metre; in Palatinus, Semur, Greban, the Montferrand play and Michel it is subject to a variation that tends to increase in frequency as time goes on, so that by the early sixteenth century when the Baptism and Temptation seems to have been written, the octosyllabic couplet is (though admittedly in a key scene, which would tend to show the most variability anyway) actually a minority metre. Thus it is the

sole metre only in Sainte-Geneviève and Arras.

The most widespread of the deviations from the octosyllabic couplet in the diableries is the octosyllabic triolet, a type of eight-line rondeau with (for example) recurring refrain-lines (shown in capitals) as follows: A B a A a b A B. It is used most often to accompany a flogging or torture of a failed devil or a soul, to which the repetition of lines lent itself, each refrain presumably corresponding to a blow. A typical example is:

ASTAROTH

...
Sus! deables, sus! a ly!

FERGALUS

A ly!
Temps est de commancer l'esbat.

ASTAROTH

Le trahitre soit assailly,
sus! deables, sus!

BERICH

A ly! A ly!

CERBERUS

Puisque chacun y est sailly,
il me fault courir au debat,
sus! deables, sus! a ly!

ASTAROTH

A ly!
Temps est de commancer l'esbat.

This is Greban l. 22130 - l. 22137; other similar triolets are Auvergne l. 3810 - l. 3817, l. 3848 - l. 3855 and Michel l. 2294 - l. 2301, l. 24035 - l. 24042. Human bourreaux also use triolets, reinforcing the visual similarity between their brutality and the devils', which was mentioned in the previous Chapter (p. 172); for example:

MALCHUS

Or, prophetize maintenant
qui t'a donné ce horion.

BRUYANT

Tu es tant saige et tant scavant.
Or prophetize maintenant.

ROULLART

Je scaray tantost plus avant
 si sön sens vault ung porfion (leek).
 Or, prophetize maintenant
 qui t'a donné ce horfion.

This is Michel l. 22731 - l. 22738; other examples are Arras l. 14355 - l. 14362; Greban l. 20842 - l. 20849, l. 20896 - l. 20903, l. 20974 - l. 20981, l. 20984 - l. 20991 and others rather too numerous to list here; Michel l. 22603 - l. 22610, l. 22651 - l. 22658, l. 24863 - l. 24870, l. 24877 - l. 24884 and likewise.

In Greban there also occur during beatings longer and more complex rondeaux, rhymed (over 10 lines) A B a A a b b a A B (Greban l. 7389 - l. 7398) or A B A' A A" b A A' A" B (1) (Greban l. 10527 - l. 10536) or (over 15 lines) A B a A a b b a b b a a b A B (Greban l. 7403 - l. 7417). Similar rondeaux are used by Greban's bourreaux, for example in l. 20858 - l. 20867, l. 20924 - l. 20941 and so on.

Another use of triolets in diableries was to distinguish a ceremony, often towards the end of a scene, such as the "commissioning" or "blessing" by Lucifer of devils departing on an important mission. Thus, they are found at the launching of the campaign against the Redemption of Man in Greban (l. 3962 - l. 3969), before the Temptation of Jesus (Baptism and Temptation l. 662 - l. 669, l. 682 - l. 689), before the attempt to bring about the execution of John the Baptist (Auvergne l. 165 - l. 172), and at the, so to speak, "official" introduction of dice to mankind by Satan in Michel (l. 28155 - l. 28162).

More occasionally, the triolet was employed to signal an emotional passage; thus, it occurs in Greban in the devils' grim "anthem" about death's thrall (l. 3852 - l. 3859), and in Michel Satan uses a 10-line rondeau to cry out in despair when Lucifer is, in his opinion, unfairly angry with him (l. 2306 - l. 2315). Triolets and longer rondeaux also occur in scenes other than diableries to mark important moments, e.g. Arras l. 2153 - l. 2160 (the Angel's message to the shepherds) and l. 14996 -

1. 15007, 1. 15049 - 1. 15056 (the Jews' demand that Jesus be crucified); Greban 1. 4019 - 1. 4126 (Mary's farewell to Elizabeth), 1. 4323 - 1. 4330 (the giving of orders to a human messenger), 1. 16325 - 1. 16340 (at Jesus's entry into Jerusalem), 1. 18181 - 1. 18196 (the dismay of the disciples at the Last Supper when Jesus predicts His betrayal); Baptism and Temptation 1. 71 - 1. 78 (the baptism of disciples by John the Baptist), 1. 861 - 1. 868 (the sending of angels to Jesus after His Temptation) and Auvergne 1. 1134 - 1. 1141 (after a miracle); Michel 1. 4725 - 1. 4740 (at the convocation of St. Matthew), 1. 5414 - 1. 5421 (Jesus's farewell to Mary as He sets off for Jerusalem), 1. 6077 - 1. 6084 (at the death of Tabitha), and so on.

Otherwise, however, changes from the octosyllabic couplet have no particular pattern before the middle of the fifteenth century. Palatinus deviates several times from rhyming pairs during the devils' quarrel before the Harrowing of Hell. There are three examples of octosyllabic quatrains rhymed a b b a (1. 1275 - 1. 1278, 1. 1281 - 1. 1284, 1. 1398 - 1. 1401), two of octosyllabic huitains in alternating rhymes (rimes croisées) (1. 1304 - 1. 1311, 1. 1346 - 1. 1353), one of a douzain rhymed (a a b)² (b b a)² (1. 1291 - 1. 1302), and there are several monorhymed lines in sequence at 1. 1285 - 1. 1289, 1. 1312 - 1. 1314 and 1. 1385 - 1. 1387. Also, 1. 1290 does not rhyme in any recognisable scheme with its immediate neighbours, but only with the earlier couplet 1. 1279 - 1. 1280. The main purpose of these changes in Palatinus seems to be to emphasise more clearly points made on either side in the quarrel; on the whole, deviations from the octosyllabic couplet take place within a single speech, and do not bridge the switch from one speaker to the other. In the case of 1. 1398 - 1. 1401, in which Christ challenges and Satan defies Him at the gates of Hell, the idea seems different, to highlight their encounter as a whole - just as is done with the statelier alexandrine in Biard.

Semur occasionally introduces a half-line of four syllables at the end of a speech or scene in octosyllables, mainly in important episodes, as at the Fall of the Angels (1. 423, 1. 431), after the Temptation of Eve (1. 792), and at the claiming of John

the Baptist's soul (l. 4185). Sometimes the half-lines are smoothly integrated into the couplet scheme, but some seem to disrupt it: l. 433 rhymes with l. 429 - l. 430, and l. 791 does not rhyme with anything at all. Presumably the purpose of these half-lines is to round off the speech or scene more emphatically. There are examples in Semur outside the diableries which seem similarly intended (l. 316, l. 508, l. 654, and so on).

In Greban and the later plays, however, deviations from the octosyllabic couplet in diableries are rather more sustained and systematic.

Greban marks out the excitement of Lucifer's self-enthronement in Heaven before his Fall by changing to a pentasyllabic vingtain rhymed (a a a a b)⁴ (l. 375 - l. 394). The shorter line and the sequences of four rhyming lines together produce a more urgent and emotional effect. After the Harrowing, Lucifer expresses his despair in the form of an octosyllabic huitain rhymed (a b)² (b c)² (l. 26371 - l. 26378), whose emotion is enhanced by an alliterative first line (⟨Ha! rain (sprig) de redoubtee rage⟩), and by contrast with the comic summons of Satan which follows (see p. 243). Another case is the lengthy scene before the suicide of Judas in which Desesperance argues out his situation, the stages of the argument being articulated by changes in metre and rhyme. Judas's initial acceptance of the counsel of Desesperance takes the form of an octosyllabic seizain which is in rimes croisées, (a b)² (b c)² ((c b)²)², whose quick effect is increased by much line-splitting between the two speakers (l. 21790 - l. 21805). Desesperance then puts it to Judas that his sin against Jesus is beyond forgiveness, still speaking quickly in five octosyllabic sixains rhymed (a a b)² (l. 21806 - l. 21835). However, as Judas puts his own view of the case, the metre slows down into a series of six octosyllabic huitains in rimes croisées, (a b)⁴, huitains alternating between the two speakers, ending with Desesperance. The next two huitains are split, Judas and Desesperance having, respectively, seven and a half lines and half a line, then four lines each - which brings out that Desesperance is growing more impatient (l. 21836 - l. 21899). Thus Desesperance wins the

argument, and urges Judas to commit suicide, at which he breaks out into grief, and here a faster and more emotional tempo is created by a switch to a complex vingtquatrain of mixed-length lines, some very short: (a a⁵ a a⁷ a³ b⁷)² (b b⁵ b b⁷ b³ a⁷)² (1. 21900 - 1. 21923) (2). Then Desesperance takes up the octosyllabic couplet again for the more materialistic business of offering Judas a choice of suicide weapons (1. 21924 - 1. 21941), but his actual decision is marked by a huitain (a b)² (b c)² (1. 21942 - 1. 21949). After this, the matter is settled and the octosyllabic couplet returns definitively.

J. Michel makes many changes to Greban's metres, here and elsewhere. In the new scene after John the Baptist's arrival in Limbo, Lucifer's first reaction is a huitain (a b)² (b c)² (1. 7790 - 1. 7797) - presumably for more emphasis. Into the second temptation of Judas, during the Last Supper, extra urgency is conveyed by the use of a douzain (a a b)² (b b c)² (1. 19013 - 1. 19024). J. Michel makes most changes, however, in the scene of Judas's suicide. The initial acceptance of Desesperance is shortened from sixteen to twelve lines, rhymed (a b)² (b c)² (c b)² (1. 23719 - 1. 23730), and there follow two transitional lines, making couplets with adjacent lines, to achieve the progression into the next stage of the argument (1. 23731 - 1. 23732). This consists of Desesperance's reasons why Judas is beyond redemption, condensed into only two sixains, Greban's first and last (1. 23733 - 1. 23744). Then follow three huitains in rimes croisées (1. 23745 - 1. 23768), as in Greban, but the rest of Greban's huitains have been altered, with some lines added and others rewritten, into two douzains ((a b)⁴ (b c)²)² (1. 23769 - 1. 23792), and the final huitain is not quite perfect: (a b b c b c b c) (1. 23793 - 1. 23800). The main purpose of this change seems to be in order to place more emphasis partly on Desesperance's negative attitude that Judas cannot repent - it is here that J. Michel has added the new lines - but mainly to stress Judas's despairing reaction, for whereas at this point in Greban he has eleven and a half lines, J. Michel gives him fifteen and a half, including twelve in a row (1. 23785 - 1. 23796).

After this Judas switches, as in Greban, into lyrical mixed-length lines, but in a dixhuitain instead of in a vingtquatrein as in Greban: a a⁵ a a⁷ a³ b⁷, a a⁵ a⁷ a a³ b⁷ and b⁷ b b b b⁵ a⁷. However they are less rigidly structured than in Greban, with more very short lines, and so somewhat more frenzied in effect (l. 23801 - l. 23818). Thereafter J. Michel follows Greban in bringing back the octosyllabic couplet for the offer of suicide weapons (l. 23819 - l. 23838), and in marking off Judas's decision distinctly, but with a douzain rhymed (a b)² (b c)² (c d)² instead of Greban's huitain (l. 23839 - l. 23850). The octosyllabic couplet then returns for the suicide and the collecting by the devils of Judas's soul, but as it is dragged off to Hell the soul again breaks out into lamentation in an octosyllabic douzain rhymed (a a b)² (b b c)² (l. 23987 - l. 23998), then with two hexasyllabic sixains rhymed (a a b)² (l. 23999 - l. 24010). Thus it is that overall J. Michel's adjustments of Greban dwell more on Judas's acceptance of Desesperance and on his choice of a suicide method, but especially emphatically on his outbursts of emotion just before he dies and on the way to Hell; conversely, the part of "reasoned" argument from the devil in person has been cut down. The effect is that Judas arrives at suicide more as the result of his own irrational, undisciplined feelings than as the result of outside influence from the fiend, and this fits in with the rest of J. Michel's morality, that sin has less to do with the devil than with a pre-existing falling-off inside the individual soul upon which the devil then acts. Hence it is only after Judas has already become discontented with Jesus that the devils are seen to begin work on him, after the incident of the "squandered" ointment; hence also, perhaps, the fact that Mary Magdalen, who unlike Judas elects to remain virtuous, is never, even during her "worldly" phase, tempted by the devil. What interests J. Michel is the choice made by the human soul on its own account in the sight of God; the devil is treated as a secondary factor.

In the Baptism and Temptation, the important diablerie of the Temptation of Jesus is fully structured through changes of metre. Lucifer's first summons of the devils is an octosyllabic quatrain

rhymed a b b a (1. 565 - 1. 568), then, after three transitional lines making couplets with adjacent lines (1. 569 - 1. 571), his speech to the assembled devils and Satan's reply have the form of douzains rhymed $a^8 b^3 a^8 a^4 b^8 b^4 c^8 b^3 c^8$ and $c^8 d^8 d^3 c^8 c^3 d^8 c^3 e^8 c^3 e^8$ - giving a lively pace (1. 572 - 1. 595). After more transitional lines (1. 596 - 1. 598), Satan's own speech to the other devils carries on in octosyllabic couplets (1. 599 - 1. 614), but the pace speeds up again when they react in tercets rhymed $a^8 b^4, c^8 b^4$ and so on (1. 615 - 1. 626). After the transitional 1. 627, Asmo and Satan boast at more length in octosyllabic quatrains in rimes croisées or rhymed a b b a (1. 628 - 1. 659). After more transitional lines (1. 660 - 1. 661), the "commissioning" of the devils begins with a triolet (1. 662 - 1. 669) (see p. 177 above), but ends with octosyllabic couplets (1. 670 - 1. 681), as does the dismissal which sends the devils on their way (1. 682 - 1. 689 and 1. 690 - 1. 699).

The first temptation of Jesus is given in octosyllabic couplets, but at 1. 755, when the second temptation begins, Satan switches to quatrains in rimes croisées, a b a b, b c b c and so on (1. 755 - 1. 786). The frantic conference of Satan and Asmo which follows is appropriately rapidly run through in tercets of mixed-length lines, $a^4 b^8, b^3 c^8, c^3 d^8, d^3 e^8$ (1. 787 - 1. 798). After two transitional lines in between (1. 799 - 1. 800), the third and final temptation is also in quatrains in rimes croisées, a b a b, b c b c and so on (1. 801 - 1. 824). More transitional lines are used for the devils' flight to Hell (1. 825 - 1. 828), but their frantic report to Lucifer and their punishment are in quatrains of mixed-length lines in rimes croisées, $a^5 b^6 a^5 b^6, b^3 c^6, c^4 d^5, d^5 e^6$, an uneven effect suited to the action (1. 829 - 1. 844).

In Auvergne A, at the start of the major group of devil-scenes linked to the execution of John the Baptist, the formal report of Belzebut to Lucifer on current events on earth is stressed by a change from octosyllabic couplets to a douzain of mixed-length lines, $(a^8 a^3 b^8)^2 (b^8 b^3 c^8)^2$ (1. 113 - 1. 124), and Lucifer's reply begins as a quatrain in octosyllabic rimes croisées, c d c d (1. 125 - 1. 128).

Thus it was from the latter half of the fifteenth century onwards that the French Passion play diableries showed most metrical variety, which is doubtless due to extra interest among contemporary poets in general in variety of form. Nevertheless, at least important diableries in Passion plays by this time tended to be structurally quite complex, consisting, as seen in the previous Chapter, of a whole series of different "routines" such as summons - report/discussion - possibly punishment - dismissal; and this differentiation of activities lent itself readily, if desired, to the additional structuring of changes of metre. The less elaborate devil-scenes of earlier plays tended to develop verbal virtuosity (see below).

Yet even in the later fifteenth century Passions it was almost entirely the more vital, serious and emotive diableries, usually ones involving interaction with angels or with humans, or the Harrowing itself, that produced sustained changes of metre and, certainly, departures from the octosyllabic line. Conversely, changes of metre occurring in scenes set inside Hell, where the devils are on their own, hardly ever involve more than a change in the rhyme-scheme of octosyllabic lines, most often to the triolet or another type of rondeau. The explanation for this seems to be that the octosyllabic metre, especially in the form of the basic or "unmarked" couplet, is intrinsically less dignified in tone than longer lines such as the alexandrine, and less contrived and lyrical in effect than shorter or mixed-length lines and complex rhyme-schemes. On the whole, longer lines and more complex rhyme-schemes are more associated with the virtuous characters, so that the octosyllabic couplet is the more dominant the less sympathetic the characters who use it; it is the metre of "low" types such as bourreaux, rustics, servants or villains like the Pharisees, Herod or Pilate. Its predominance in diableries, especially when the devils are on their own, therefore marks them as being wicked and corrupt.

B: Line-splitting

A simpler way to vary the monotonous octosyllabic couplet

than to change the whole metre was to split a line between two speakers. However this did not appear as a device in devil-scenes in Passions before Arras because it was not until then that there developed the opportunities for rapid exchanges - longer temptations, quarrels and beatings, breathless and distraught arrivals in Hell, the giving of orders and other emotional moments such as "humiliations" and "triumphs". In earlier plays, and this is the case even with the lively Harrowing quarrel of Palatinus, the devils' style tended to be somewhat declamatory; they did not frequently interrupt each other in an unruly scramble. That line-splitting had a strong link with unruliness is shown by its frequency, especially in Greban and Michel, during the trioletts that accompany the beating up of a failed devil by his fellows. However one disadvantage of the device was that it broke up the system of "mnemonic" cuing generally used in French vernacular drama of the period, whereby the last line of each speech rhymed with the first line of the next speaker's. On the other hand, it gave a more spontaneous effect, which, when this was desired, carried the day.

Examples are as follows:

Arras: 1. 1137, 1. 5509, 1. 6743, 1. 6746, 1. 13115,
1. 13185, 1. 17592, 1. 17634, 1. 20717, 1. 20739

Greban: 1. 354, 1. 439, 1. 445, 1. 673, 1. 675, 1. 705,
1. 713, 1. 719, 1. 926, 1. 936, 1. 3754, 1. 3780,
1. 3784, 1. 3792, 1. 3804, 1. 3850, 1. 7345,
1. 7389, 1. 7392, 1. 7393, 1. 7397, 1. 7403,
1. 7406, 1. 7416, 1. 7426, 1. 7435, 1. 7926,
1. 10463, 1. 10521, 1. 10527, 1. 10530, 1. 10533,
1. 10539, 1. 10547, 1. 10559, 1. 10667, 1. 10685,
1. 10689, 1. 15148, 1. 15168, 1. 17339, 1. 17359,
1. 17369, 1. 17371, 1. 17379, 1. 17389, 1. 17399,
1. 17403, 1. 17422, 1. 17437, 1. 21796, 1. 21797,
1. 21802, 1. 21815, 1. 21835, 1. 21885, 1. 21924,
1. 21968, 1. 22010, 1. 22027, 1. 22074, 1. 22076,
1. 22118, 1. 22128, 1. 22130, 1. 22133, 1. 22136,
1. 23274, 1. 23368, 1. 23374, 1. 23404, 1. 24484,
1. 24508, 1. 25714, 1. 25720, 1. 25736, 1. 25787,
1. 25793, 1. 26379, 1. 26387, 1. 26389, 1. 26399,
1. 26413, 1. 28898, 1. 28906, 1. 28910, 1. 28942,
1. 28966, 1. 31933, 1. 33331, 1. 33347, 1. 33371,
1. 33383, 1. 33389, 1. 33408, 1. 33412, 1. 33466

Baptism and
Temptation: 1. 828

Michel: 1. 2222, 1. 2288, 1. 2294, 1. 2297, 1. 2300,
 1. 2304, 1. 2362, 1. 3069, 1. 3105, 1. 3109,
 1. 3189, 1. 3199, 1. 13923, 1. 13945, 1. 17232,
 1. 17260, 1. 17270, 1. 17280, 1. 17307, 1. 17320,
 1. 17330, 1. 23723, 1. 23725, 1. 23726, 1. 23744,
 1. 23782, 1. 23966, 1. 23967, 1. 23968, 1. 24014,
 1. 24038, 1. 24057, 1. 25497, 1. 25581, 1. 25614,
 1. 25634, 1. 25641, 1. 27058, 1. 27082, 1. 28105,
 1. 28111, 1. 28152, 1. 28164, 1. 28196, 1. 28646,
 1. 28682

C: Caesura and Enjambement

Normally the sense of the octosyllabic lines does not run on from one to the other, but once, in Palatinus l. 1262 - l. 1265, there is used an enjambement and a strong caesura in the middle of the following line. This is in order to throw into relief the key word <<sang>>- meaning the blood of Christ - which Satan is gloating over:

Par teste, par mains et par bras,
 Li ai fet sanc issir a tas.
 L'ai fet saillir et par destraiçe
 Le sanc. Fort est, si se redrece

D: Vocabulary

The interest of the devils' vocabulary, both for itself and for its links with the vocabulary of other types of character, lies in the development of certain fields, which are: terms of address; oaths and "dismissals", which are a kind of oath; exclamations; colloquial expressions; comparisons; Latin and dog-Latin; obscenity and scatology; word-invention and adaptation; enumeration; and what perhaps nowadays we should call "gobbledygook" - unduly complex wording.

(i) Terms of address (3):

Palatinus: <<deable(s)>>: 1. 1235, 1. 1250, 1. 1279,
 1. 1324, 1. 1341

<<Fil a putain>>: 1. 1307, 1. 1346, 1. 1379

<<Compains>>: 1. 1281, 1. 1288

<<lierres (wretch)>>: 1. 1304, 1. 1312

<<Seigneur>>: 1. 1359

Sainte-Geneviève: <<Diabes>>: 1. 1725

«Chetif Sathanas»: 1. 4043

«Princes d'enfer»: 1. 3969

Semur: (Terms for Lucifer/Infernus)

«Sire»: 1. 247, 1. 248

«beaul sire»: 1. 771, 1. 1204

«mon beaul sire gens»: 1. 769

«Mon seigneur»: 1. 243, 1. 780

«(Mon) chier seigneur»: 1. 559, 1. 1213

«Maistre»: 1. 5348

«Maistre Sathanas»: 1. 4173

«Sathanas»: 1. 4235

«Enfer»: 1. 8485

«Lucifer quil tout bien desplait»: 1. 1203

«Serpent puant et detestable,
Orgueilleux, fier et envieux,
Plain de douleur et malheureux»: 1. 324 -
1. 326

«Traicte»: 1. 322

(before the Fall of the Angels)

«tresnoble facture»: 1. 286

«ma gentil personne»: 1. 291

(Terms for the other devils)

« diables»: 1. 414, 1. 555, 1. 745, 1. 1193,
1. 1194, 1. 1195, 1. 1196, 1. 1198,
1. 4127, 1. 4213, 1. 5208, 1. 5324,
1. 5327, 1. 6664, 1. 6675, 1. 8425

«mon grant diable»: 1. 1187

(to Satan)

«Sire»: 1. 8447, 1. 8448, 1. 8457

(to all the devils)

«Princes d'enfert, maistres deables»: 1. 8584,
1. 8612

«Seigneurs»: 1. 788

«
... puant ordure,
Flux que charonne et longuaingne (dung)»:
1. 8744 - 1. 8745

«Sathan puant»: 1. 8497

«Mort d'Enfert, trespunaise (stinking) et orde
(filthy)»:
1. 8613

«Sathanas, tresvil, tresors»: 1. 8749

«Sanglante (hateful) traicte larronnaille»: 1.1206

«gentilz personnes»: 1. 8768

- << tempterre >>: 1. 4258
 (before the Fall of the Angels)
- << ... toutes legions
 Des celestiaulx regions;
 Mes angelz de mon consistoire >>: 1. 220 -
 1. 222
- Arras: (Terms for Lucifer)
- << maistre >>: 1. 13103, 1. 13175, 1. 14174
 << Lucifer mestre >>: 1. 6730
- << no maistre et seigneur >>: 1. 14172
 << Monseigneur >>: 1. 2427, 1. 14102
 << Roy Lucifer >>: 1. 5515
- << ... prince de tous maulx,
 Roy des royaulmes infernaulx >>: 1. 5073 -
 1. 5074
- << Roy des dampnés >>: 1. 5080
 (Terms for the other devils)
- << dyables >>: 1. 2401, 1. 2421, 1. 5481,
 1. 5516, 1. 6705, 1. 6717,
 1. 6720, 1. 7866, 1. 13075,
 1. 13087, 1. 13098, 1. 13123,
 1. 14193, 1. 20529, 1. 20614,
 1. 20622, 1. 20812, 1. 20815,
 1. 20817, 1. 20818, 1. 20819,
 1. 20847
- << Faulx diable >>: 1. 21012
 << diables d'infer >>: 1. 20816
 << grans diables d'enfer >>: 1. 13140
 << Diables maudis >>: 1. 20950
 << Dyables boulis (deceitful?), dampnés sans
 fin >>:
 1. 1111
- << dyable bouilly >>: 1. 1143
 << diables dampnés >>: 1. 17659, 1. 20547,
 1. 20820
- << Dyables dampnés, traitres larrons >>: 1. 5471
 << Diables dampnés, diables noircis >>: 1. 20530
- << ... dyables et dyabesses,
 Ordes, puans et felonnesses >>: 1. 6717 -
 1. 6718
- << Crapaut >>: 1. 1143, 1. 7879, 1. 7913
 << Cerbere crapault >>: 1. 7890
 << Crapaudiable >>: 1. 1114
 << crapaudaille >>: 1. 20849
 << garchon >>: 1. 1143, 1. 2423, 1. 6746,
 1. 13105
 << faulx garçon >>: 1. 2415

- <<compaignon>>: 1. 20843
 <<compains>>: 1. 18080
 <<compains loyaulx>>: 1. 13164
 <<doulx compains et ami>>: 1. 17662
 ⚡ (Sathan) amis>>: 1. 5078, 1. 5124
 <<faulx Sathanas>>: 1. 21010
 <<seigneurs>>: 1. 18062, 1. 20799, 1. 20874,
 1. 20923, 1. 20954
 <<beau seigneur>>: 1. 20879
 <<Vous qui estes de ma mainsnie (household)>>:
 1. 18162
 <<Fil de putain>>: 1. 1164, 1. 7876
 <<larons>>: 1. 14164, 1. 20786
 <<murdriers (wretches)>>: 1. 20786
 <<sanglant puans>>: 1. 7042
 <<sanglant traytre>>: 1. 20666
 <<Ort vil truant (good-for-nothing)>>: 1. 7879
 <<faulse merdaille>>: 1. 20531
 <<mauvais glous (wretch)>>: 1. 21018
 <<Gloutonnaille>>: 1. 1131
- Greban: (Terms for Lucifer)
- <<Maistre>>: 1. 3906, 1. 7389, 1. 7392, 1. 7397,
 1. 7404, 1. 7417, 1. 7422, 1. 10527,
 1. 10530, 1. 10533, 1. 10540,
 1. 10703, 1. 12339, 1. 17351,
 1. 17361, 1. 17383, 1. 23306,
 1. 24524, 1. 28916, 1. 28934,
 1. 33486
 <<Mon maistre Lucifer>>: 1. 31995
 <<roi Lucifer>>: 1. 910, 1. 1214, 1. 3808,
 1. 26236, 1. 33413
 <<roy des ennemis>>: 1. 3723
 <<Roy d'enffer>>: 1. 7331
 "Domine": 1. 1716, 1. 33466
 "magister": 1. 24508, 1. 28974
 <<mon seigneur>>: 1. 7435
 (before the Fall of the Angels)
 <<nostre principal>>: 1. 351
 <<faulx prince d'orgueil>>: 1. 409
 (from Desesperance)
 <<Pere Lucifer>>: 1. 21788
 <<mon pere infernal>>: 1. 22082

- « Lucifer, qui tiens la couronne
de l'horrible abisme infernal »: 1. 24480 -
1. 24481
- « dragon furieux »: 1. 1699
- « ... vielz serpent mordant,
fier roy detestable et infame »: 1. 22106 -
1. 22107
- « ... horrible segongne
au nit d'orgueil sans fin couvant »: 1. 23360 -
1. 23361

(Terms for the other devils)

- « deables »: 1. 416, 1. 657, 1. 932, 1. 1220,
1. 1642, 1. 1712, 1. 3708, 1. 3830,
1. 3874, 1. 7297, 1. 7301, 1. 10493,
1. 15100, 1. 21761, 1. 21768, 1. 22066,
1. 22130, 1. 22133, 1. 22136, 1. 22139,
1. 23290, 1. 23310, 1. 24509, 1. 26230,
1. 26337, 1. 28969, 1. 31957
- « Petis deables »: 1. 914
- « mes petis deablos »: 1. 3844
- « Deables dampnés »: 1. 10451
- « Deables obscurs et tenebreux,
tourbe despiteuse (scornful) et villaine »:
1. 23270 - 1. 23271
- « tourbes maudites »: 1. 23287
- « deable maudit »: 1. 28970
- « Deables maudis, deables fellons,
ennemis de gloire forclos »:
1. 31925 - 1. 31926
- « maudit Sathan »: 1. 24494
- « Deables de l'infernal deluge,
en cruelz tormens estandus,
serpens dampnés et confondus
en feu ardant (burning) et pardurable,
tant qu'eternite ara cours »:
1. 28868 - 1. 28873
- « dragon, serpent immortel »: 1. 24498
- « dragons venimeux et mauvais »: 1. 23291
- (at the Fall of the Angels)
- « faulx anges »: 1. 396
- « Faulx dragon, faulx matin famis
perverse tortue mortelle »:
1. 7377 - 1. 7378

- « Dragon pourry, puante beste,
serpent hideux, vieulx cocodrille »: 1. 26383 - 1. 26384
- « ... faulce tourbe dampnable,
maudiz et condampnes serpens »: 1. 421 - 1. 422
- « Faulx serpent condampné »: 1. 7353
- « ... faulx serpent venimeux,
ardent de rage forcenee »: 1. 15115 - 1. 15116
- « Faulx serpens »: 1. 23300
- « fauls serpent au feu condampné »: 1. 33334
- « Faulx deable de gloire privé »: 1. 26257
- « faulx ennemis »: 1. 17340
- « faulx enemy plain de honte »: 1. 23376
- « faulx Sathan ...
faulx enemy terrible et noir »: 1. 23378 -
1. 23379
- « Faulx enemy d'humain lignage »: 1. 33448
- « faulx angle distracteur »: 1. 10675
- « ennemis dampnés »: 1. 26247
- « faulx chien »: 1. 667
- « Substance ville et corrupue,
chien enrage puant que fiens »: 1. 23392 -
1. 23393
- (this rather compressed last line means
either "rabid dog as foul as dung" or "rabid
dog more foul than dung")
- « larron »: 1. 653, 1. 659, 1. 10513
- « ribauls »: 1. 3860, 1. 17461, 1. 22142,
1. 33488
- « ribauldaille »: 1. 7329, 1. 10529, 1. 10534
- « desloyaulx ennemis de Dieu »: 1. 414
- « desloyal Sathan »: 1. 7345
- « Couvin maudit, gendre infernal,
monstres divers, substances villes,
ors serpens, hideux cocodrilles,
vieulz aspics, horribles dragons »: 1. 28894 - 1. 28897
- « ... progenie mauldite,
serpens interditz et dampnés,
horribles monstres forcenés,
catherve (troop) d'envie imprimee »: 1. 33424 - 1. 33427

« progenie au feu condampnee »: 1. 919
 « orde progenie enfumee »: 1. 1643
 « maignie laide et orde »: 1. 7418
 « pute (vile) meignie »: 1. 22158
 « Terrible meignie et difforme,
 deables ou bas abisme enclos,
 faulx espritz de gloire forclos,
 gendre maudit et miserable,
 dampné sous peine interminable »: 1. 21754 -
 1. 21758

« horrible commun »: 1. 26230
 « beau frere »: 1. 23364
 « roy de la feve »: 1. 1705
 « sire »: 1. 7428
 "principes": 1. 26256
 (to Desesperance)
 « chere fille »: 1. 22087
 « ma seur »: 1. 22027
 « chere seur »: 1. 22009
 « ma fille et mon tres ame gendre (offspring) »:
 1. 21781
 « maistre Agrippart »: 1. 448
 « enfans »: 1. 33484

Baptism and
Temptation:

(Terms for Lucifer)
 « Enfer »: 1. 569
 « Maudit enfer »: 1. 584, 1. 628
 « Cerberus »: 1. 570
 « prince de vice »: 1. 598
 (Terms for the other devils)
 « dyables »: 1. 656, 1. 670, 1. 833
 « dyablerie »: 1. 565
 « dyables, de Dieu haïs »: 1. 599
 « Maudit Satham »: 1. 825
 « truhan »: 1. 837
 « pallart (wretched) goullu »: 1. 841
 « mallereux »: 1. 817

Auvergne:

(Terms for Lucifer)
 « ... diable envieux
 malgracieux »: 1. 113 - 1. 114
 « maudit Cerberus »: 1. 3800

- « Enfer »: 1. 663
- « prince d'enfer »: 1. 3275
(Terms for the other devils)
- « diables »: 1. 3812, 1. 3814, 1. 3816
- « diables d'enfer mauvaiz »: 1. 126
- « dyables mauvais et maleureux »: 1. 646
- « d'enfer ministre »: 1. 125
- « Mauldit »: 1. 133, 1. 3270
- « maulditz et felons »: 1. 173
- « maulditz remplitz d'envie »: 1. 652
- « mauldit dyable »: 1. 641
- « princes d'enfer »: 1. 3281
- Michel: (Terms for Lucifer)
- « maistre »: 1. 17250, 1. 27098
- « mon maistre Lucifer »: 1. 23868
- « magister »: 1. 27082
- « Roy Lucifer »: 1. 28656
- « Roy d'enfer qui tiens la couronne
de l'orrible abisme infernal »: 1. 27054 -
1. 27055
- « maudit esp(e)rit abhominable »: 1. 2307,
1. 2315
- « ... orrible charongne
en fier orgueil sans fin regnant »: 1. 25573 -
1. 25574
- (Terms for the other devils)
- « Dyable(s) »: 1. 2252, 1. 7832, 1. 17230,
1. 17248, 1. 17354, 1. 23695,
1. 24029, 1. 24035, 1. 24038,
1. 24041, 1. 25513, 1. 25523,
1. 25533, 1. 27083, 1. 28408,
1. 28650, 1. 28664, 1. 28894,
1. 28895, 1. 28896
- « Dyables maudis »: 1. 2298
- « Dyables, diables ors et hideux,
terribles esprits furieux »: 1. 23993 -
1. 23994
- « Dyables remplis de deraison,
malins esp(e)ris tous forcenés »: 1. 2196 -
1. 2197
- « Dyables infernaulx »: 1. 13877
- « Dyables infernaulx enragés »: 1. 28397
- « ... dyables vilz et hideux,
espris dampnés, maulditz et hors »: 1. 8369 -
1. 8370

- <<grands dyables d'enfer>>: 1. 23869
 <<tourbes maudictes>>: 1. 25510
 <<Dyables horribles et desfais,
 tourbe vilaine et interdite,
 orde compaignie maudicte >>: 1. 23865 -
 1. 23867
 <<Dyables obscurs et tenebreux,
 tourbe despiteuse et vilaine >>: 1. 25493 -
 1. 25494
 <<Terrible compaignie defforme,
 dyables aux abismes enclos,
 faulx espriz de gloire forclos,
 anges maudis et miserables,
 dampnés en peines pardurables >>: 1. 23607 -
 1. 23611
 <<La dyabolique nature,
 la malice d'espris mauldiz,
 l'ombre de la male adventure,
 dyables de tous biens interditz,
 folz entendemens alourdis,
 malheureux dampnés execrables >>: 1. 7790 -
 1. 7795
 <<mauldit Sathan>>: 1. 27068
 <<ribaudaille>>: 1. 2296
 <<... faux serpens venimeux
 ardans de rage forcenee >>: 1. 13893 -
 1. 13894
 <<crappaulx>>: 1. 24047
 <<vil et puant Astaroth>>: 1. 8431
 <<dragon ... serpent cruel>>: 1. 27072
 <<beste horrible>>: 1. 23733
 <<espris promptz a tout mal>>: 1. 17355
 <<Ennemis dampnés>>: 1. 28667

Except in the shorter texts, which have less room to develop frequent conversations among devils (Palatinus, Sainte-Geneviève, Semur), the commonest "term of address" in the diableries is actually the simple proper name. Names alone are used once in Palatinus, some four times in Sainte-Geneviève, some fifteen in Semur, eighty in Arras (swelled by enumeration during summonses - see below), seventy in Greban, eleven in the Baptism and Temptation and thirteen in Auvergne, and sixty times in Michel. Names were used oftenest probably for simplicity; the longer terms tend to do rather more than

merely call attention, but at the same time make a certain point about the devil or devils. However, after the proper name, the commonest alternative term of address is still what we might call more or less a "generic label", or, in Lucifer's case, a "label of rank". Such are «diable »», and for Lucifer «maistre »», «sire »», «prince »», and the like, which simply tell what the devils are, and point out that Lucifer is their king, the Prince of Darkness. Similar to these "generic labels" are the terms applied to the devils by angels or humans, including Jesus, such as «tempterre »», «faulx angle distracteur »» or (at the Harrowing, following Nicodemus, which has "Principes") «princes »». These indicate the devils' status in general terms, as tempters and powers of darkness, in relation to other types of being in the universe.

It is rather the rest of the terms of address, falling as they do into roughly three categories, which are more interesting from the point of view of integrating the devil-scenes with the rest of the text. First, there are what we might call the "informal" terms of address among devils, such as «ami »», «compain »» ("fellow-devil"); then there are the grander, even fulsome titles, especially used for Lucifer, like «prince de tous maulx »», or «Roy d'enfer qui tiens la couronne/ de l'orrible abisme infernal »»; finally, there are a great number of terms having a "grotesque" theme, involving all kinds of uncomplimentary adjectives and animal-terms, such as «maudit »», «vil »», «puant »», «serpent »», «dragon »», «chien »» and so on.

The first group, the "informal" terms, are widespread in very much the same form as among the devils amongst people speaking patronisingly to their servants and amongst low character-types such as bourreaux, shepherds and other kinds of bumpkin, like the "fool" Rusticus in Semur. The connotations of these terms may be fairly friendly or fairly unpleasant; much depends on the mood of the speaker at the time. The devils naturally, in Passion plays where they lose out for so much of the time, tend to use more of the bad-tempered terms. Examples from humans are (4):

« ami »)	e.g.	<u>Palatinus</u> l. 220, <u>Biard</u> l. 606,
« doux ami »)		<u>Sainte-Geneviève</u> l. 2563,
« beau doux ami »)		<u>Semur</u> l. 7095, <u>Arras</u> l. 1669,
etc.)		<u>Greban</u> l. 4575, <u>Baptism and</u>
		<u>Temptation</u> l. 429, <u>Auvergne</u> l. 272,
		<u>Michel</u> l. 2711
« Biau sire »)		<u>Palatinus</u> l. 552, <u>Biard</u> l. 1105,
etc.)		<u>Sainte-Geneviève</u> l. 658, <u>Semur</u>
		<u>l.</u> 2356, <u>Arras</u> l. 12612, <u>Greban</u>
		<u>l.</u> 5680, <u>Michel</u> l. 15944
« Compains »)		<u>Biard</u> l. 754, <u>Sainte-Geneviève</u>
« doux compains »)		<u>l.</u> 1309, <u>Semur</u> l. 2567, <u>Arras</u>
« beau doux compains »)		<u>l.</u> 2162, <u>Greban</u> l. 7616, <u>Michel</u>
etc.)		<u>l.</u> 19700
« enfans »:		<u>Greban</u> l. 5655, <u>Auvergne</u> l. 2549
« gallans »:		<u>Greban</u> l. 7684, <u>Auvergne</u> l. 2494
« fil a putain »:		<u>Arras</u> l. 4924, l. 5026
« garson »:		<u>Semur</u> l. 6174, <u>Arras</u> l. 4976,
		<u>Auvergne</u> l. 2838
Glout »)		<u>Sainte-Geneviève</u> l. 1878,
« glouton »)		<u>Semur</u> l. 7454, <u>Arras</u> l. 7302,
« goulu »)		<u>Michel</u> l. 11055
« lierre »)		<u>Palatinus</u> l. 802, <u>Semur</u> l. 6115,
« larronceau »)		<u>Arras</u> l. 4924, <u>Greban</u> l. 20869,
		<u>Michel</u> l. 22630
« maignie »:		<u>Greban</u> l. 19769
« paillart »:		<u>Greban</u> l. 22906, <u>Auvergne</u>
		<u>l.</u> 900, <u>Michel</u> l. 8229
« progénie »:		<u>Greban</u> l. 19106
« ribaux »)		<u>Biard</u> l. 398, <u>Greban</u> l. 7592,
« ribaudaille »)		<u>Michel</u> l. 2627
« truant »:		<u>Palatinus</u> l. 247, <u>Biard</u> l. 906,
		<u>Semur</u> l. 3657, <u>Arras</u> l. 5000,
		<u>Auvergne</u> l. 2838, <u>Michel</u>
		<u>l.</u> 21612
« Vilain »:		<u>Sainte-Geneviève</u> l. 2577,
		<u>Semur</u> l. 1176, <u>Greban</u> l. 19148,
		<u>Auvergne</u> l. 248, <u>Michel</u> l. 3516

This sharing between the devils and other villains of

rough language in the text is reinforced by the explicit use of epithets such as «vieux», «ort», «puant», «pute», «sanglant», «faux» and so on, which humans also employ, as for example:

- « Sanglant villain de pute part »: Semur 1. 2231
 « Orde vieille putain usée »: Arras 1. 5294
 « paillars puant »: Biard 1. 889
 « Ort viel truant fetard (lazy)
 [et nice (stupid)] »: Greban 1. 24412
 « Mauldit, plain de malignité »: Auvergne 1. 892
 « Faulx murdrier, traître larron,
 Fil de putain, mauvais garçon! »: Arras 1. 5025 - 1. 5026

Animal terms appear also:

- « bos (toad) »: Sainte-Geneviève 1. 2576
 « Crapaut »: Arras 1. 5444, 1. 7693
 « chiens »: Greban 1. 7686
 « maquerele »: Greban 1. 7742
 « matin »: Semur 1. 7120, Greban
 1. 19612

Sometimes all these are built into sustained insults exactly like the grotesque terms of diableries:

- « ... meschant pescheur desvoyé,
 homme forfait (criminal),
 [desplaisant monstre] »: Greban 1. 14524 - 1. 14525
 « ... perverse femme et cruelle,
 faulce serpente venimeuse,
 tortue mordant et hideuse »: Greban 1. 10823 - 1. 10825
 (compare Michel 1. 3478 -
 1. 3479)
 « Faulce vielle, yvrogne barbue,
 vielle gauppe (slut)
 [samplerneuse (everlasting),
 laide, mauvaise, orde et
 [hideuse] »: Michel 1. 19640 - 1. 19642
 « ... grande vielle harasse
 [("nag"),
 grand viel estellon de taverne
 [("bar-prop")] »: Michel 1. 19744 - 1. 19745

Even though, up to a point, such terms really are especially appropriate to the devils, who are truly physically monstrous and spiritually accursed and rotten, yet their use as terms of address in the diableries does form part of a continuous stratum of low language running through all scenes in the plays which involve undignified and unsympathetic characters.

Other devils' terms of address echo language found at a grander level among unsympathetic characters, for some of the ringing titles given especially to Lucifer resemble the fulsome greetings given to proud human Pharisees and tyrants such as Herod and Pilate, for instance:

« Roy plain de grant auctorité »: Arras l. 3161
 « Tres hault prince et puissant seigneur »: Greban l. 21050

At the same time, the insulting grotesque phrases which often qualify the basic devils' terms of address make a contrast with the (from the onlookers' point of view) false praise used for human tyrants, also the real praise used for God:

« Tres reverendz et notables seigneurs,
 garniz de sens, ornés de bonnes meurs »: Michel l. 1461 -
 l. 1462

« ... souverain pere divin,
 haultain lumiere infaillible »: Greban l. 813 -
 l. 814

Thus the devils' more elaborate and colourful terms of address form, in relation to language elsewhere in the play, a kind of informal "code" marking them as simultaneously debased and proud of their superhuman status. Note, though, that it is generally the more leisurely texts - Semur, Arras, Greban and Michel - that exploit these possibilities most fully.

(ii) Oaths and dismissals

Palatinus: « Sertainement ne par ma foy »: l. 1354
Sainte-Geneviève: « Par tes vertus je te conjure »: l. 3947
 « Par la foy que doy trayson »: l. 3975

Semur: «mauldicte soit sa puissance!»: 1. 436

« je t'en pry par amour »: 1. 563

« Par nous mentons »: 1. 772

« foy que doit vostre pence »: 1. 5394

Arras: (Oaths)

« Crever puissiez vous de venin »: 1. 1112

« Que tout ly diable y aient part! »: 1. 1120

« On vous puist tous viz escorchier! »: 1. 1121

« On te puist les membres detraire!

("May you be torn limb from limb!") »: 1. 1142

« Mal tempeste vous puist confondre! »: 1. 1128

« Au diable pry qui me confonde! »: 1. 18061

« Que le diable tous vous confonde! »: 1. 20686

« Tempeste me puist craventer (strike down)

Si je n'en fay bien mon devoir »:

1. 1210 - 1. 1211

« Que mis soyez en tres mal an! »: 1. 6710

« Que Dieu te mette en tres mal an! »: 1. 7878

« Vatent, qu'ayes male journée »: 1. 7038

« va a tous les vils maufais (devils) »: 1. 7043

« Que mal gré en aient maufez! »: 1. 20635

« que mal gré en ait Dieu »: 1. 20655

« de par le dyable »: 1. 1138, 1. 2452, 1. 5534,
1. 20811

« Je fay veu aux diables d'infer »: 1. 20675

« Tous li diables se puissent pendre

Tout au plus hault gibet d'infer »: 1. 20851 -
1. 20852

(Dismissals)

« Va, tous les dyables te convoient »: 1. 1207

« ... que tous les dyables
nous soient en ce fait aidables »: 1. 5143 -
1. 5144

Greban: (Oaths)

« Que le sanglant deable y ait part »: 1. 449

« de par le deable »: 1. 3758, 1. 3862

« le deable y ait part (au voyage)! »: 1. 7425,
1. 26363

« le deable le sache! »: 1. 17415

- « ... ains que soit demain matin
je veil estre au gibet pendu »: 1. 679 -
1. 680
- « je veil que vous me rotissiez
aussi rouge comme ung charbon »: 1. 1650 -
1. 1651
- « ... va te pendre
a ung gibet de feu ardant »: 1. 24494 - 1. 24495
- « ... ton sanglant gibet
qui le col te puist encorder (snare)! »: 1. 33347 - 1. 33348
- « Dieu te puist maudire! »: 1. 3726, 1. 10711
- « Que tout le deable te couva! »: 1. 26360
- « Jhesus que Dieu puist mauldire! »: 1. 33372
- « Toute l'orrible legion
des deables s'en puisse tuer! »: 1. 17397 -
1. 17398
- « malle mort te puist entester (fall on your
head)! »: 1. 33332
- « qu'a peine et a terrible haire (torment)
puissiez de mort estre pugniz ! »: 1. 33490 - 1. 33491
- « que maudite soit la journee
de ma prime creacion »: 1. 15118 -
1. 15119
- « mauldite soit l'eure et le jour
que le triumphant me crea »: 1. 17407 -
1. 17408
- « par mon crochet »: 1. 24522
- « par le faulx cueur de sa tripaille »: 1. 26400
- « par ma pate »: 1. 31981, 1. 33412
- « ... jamès n'en relievera
que je n'aye aumusse ou chape »: 1. 7928 - 1. 7929
(Dismissals)
- « ... qu'en nostre puis hideux
puisses tu retourner a joye! »: 1. 683 - 1. 684
- « ... que de tel radresse
te puissent les deables mener,
que gros dragons au retourner
te raminent tout a ton aise
ardant comme feu de fournaise! »: 1. 3974 - 1. 3975
- « ... que l'horrible maignie
des dampnés vous guident et maintent,
et a telz tourmens vous raminent
qu'au parfont du gouffre infernal
ardez tous en souffre eternal ! »: 1. 7458 - 1. 7462

- << ... Le deable nous veille conduyre
a l'aller, s'en serons plus sceurs >>:
1. 10469 - 1. 10470
- << ... que pour toy confermer
tous ceulx de l'air et de la mer
te ramainent a sauvegarde
plus tost que pierre de bombarde!>>:
1. 10560 - 1. 10563
- < ... que le deable te maine
a peine et terrible misere!>>:
1. 10719 - 1. 10720
- < qu'en l'orrible puis infernal
puissiez vous revenir a joye !>>:
1. 17463 - 1. 17464
- << ... que de tout l'abisme dampné
soies tu conduit et mene !>>:
1. 23407 - 1. 23408
- << Affin que ton chemin s'accourse,
le deable te puisse guider !>>:
1. 24528 - 1. 24529
- << ... que tous les noirs,
de l'orrible lieu désolé
te ramainent ars ou brulé!>>:
1. 26423 - 1. 26425
- << ... que de forte fievre quarte
chaulde comme feu infernal
soit seingt ton museau desleal
et affulle (covered) de tel contraire (nastiness)
que jamès ne cesses de braire !>>:
1. 28982 - 1. 28986
- << ... que des eternalz feus
vous puist on les museaux bruler!>>:
1. 32001 - 1. 32002

Baptism and
Temptation: (Oaths)

- << maldicte soit t'envye ("shouting") >>: 1. 569
- << Mauldicte soit voustre nature!>>: 1. 660
- << ... maudit soit le partuis (opening),
Ensemble celluy qui l'a fait !>>: 1. 783 -
1. 784
- << mauldicte soit ma cure (trouble)!>>: 1. 823
- << Que maudit soies tu! >>: 1. 838
- << que mal feu d'enfer vous arde!>>: 1. 619
- << Du feu d'enfer pour voustre estreine (reward)
Puissés bruller !>>:
1. 622 - 1. 623

« Au feu Targnanam (of Tartarus?)

Soies tu reffundu !>>: 1. 839 -
1. 840

« Enrager puissés vous trestous
Et dessener (lose your senses) >>: 1. 625 -
1. 626

(Dismissals)

« Ou feu d'enfer puissés baigner
Dedans les chaudieres boullans!>>: 1. 690 -
1. 691

Auvergne: (Oaths)

« ... que mal foire (diarrhoea)
te puisse tenir sans cesser !>>: 1. 3260 -
1. 3261

« ... mengés trestous!
Les os vous puissent estrangler!>>: 1. 3814 -
1. 3815

Michel: (Oaths)

« Le grand dyable y puisse avoir part >>:
1. 2850

« de par le dyable >>: 1. 25619

« le dyable le sache >>: 1. 17300

« par ma pate >>: 1. 17260

« par mon crochet >>: 1. 27096

« Mauldit soit mon estre immortel >>: 1. 8453

« ... maudicte soit la journee
de mon orde creation !>>: 1. 13895 -
1. 13896

« Maudite soit l'heure et le jour
que le triumphant me crea >>: 1. 17292 -
1. 17293

« Toute l'horrible legion
des dyables s'en puisse confondre!>>:
1. 17286 -
1. 17287

« ... va te pendre
a ung gibet de feu ardant >>: 1. 27068 -
1. 27069

« maugré que j'en aye >>: 1. 2202

(Dismissals)

« Les dyables vous veuille [nt] conduyre
sans avoir meilleur saufconduyt !>>:
1. 2228 -
1. 2229

« ... Que, pour toy confermer,
touz ceux de l'air et de la mer
te ramainent a sauvegarde
plus tost que pierre de bombarde!>>:
1. 2363 -
1. 2366

- « Que de ma ravissante pate
et [de] ma rioteuse verve
soit vostre cruaulté proterve (bold)
en malediction fermee ! »: 1. 7842 - 1. 7845
- « ... Que en peine et tourment
soyés a jamais miserables ! »: 1. 23711 -
1. 23712
- « Qu'en l'orrible gouffre infernal
nous puissés vous amener proye ! »: 1. 17356 - 1. 17357
- « ... que tu puisses enrager
de despit en chascune place ! »: 1. 25643 -
1. 25644
- « Affin que ton chemin s'accourse,
les dyables te puissent guider »: 1. 27102 -
1. 27103
- « ... que dix mille charretees
de dyables te puissent conduire
et ramener enraigé d'ire
en la tenebreuse valee ! »: 1. 28692 -
1. 28695

Oaths and dismissals in diableries are, up to a point, parallel to oaths, oath-like greetings and farewells found elsewhere in the French Passion plays.

It goes without saying that it is low characters such as bourreaux, jailers and so on who curse. Their oaths are basically of three types: general, those which invoke God and those which invoke the devil. Some examples are:

(General)

« Par foy »: e.g. Palatinus 1. 348, Biard 1. 975, Sainte-Geneviève 1. 1626, Arras 1. 1698, Auvergne 1. 1419

« foy que vous me devez »: Palatinus 1. 405, Sainte-Geneviève 1. 757, Arras 1. 13453

« foy que je doys a l'ame
mon pere »: Biard 1. 1113, Sainte-Geneviève 1. 680, Semur 1. 5871

- « Foy que je doy l'ame ma tante »: Semur 1. 5533
 « Foy que doit l'ame vostre fille »: Semur 1. 5538
 « Foy que doit l'arme mon cheval »: Semur 1. 9280
 etc.

« Maulditz soies »: Semur 1. 7844, Arras
 1. 5003

- « Que mauldite soit la cabasse (head) »: Auvergne 1. 292
 « maudit soit qui le composa! »: Greban 1. 25867
 « Maudit soit il quant tant sejourne! »: Semur 1. 1039
 « Maudit soye ge se tu ne le compere
 (pay for it)! »: Biard 1. 396

« Mauldite soit l'eure et le jour
 Qu'oncques je fus née de mere »: Arras 1. 4952 - 1. 4953,
Michel 1. 28862 -
 1. 28863

« La male passion l'abate! »: Palatinus 1. 586; close
 to Sainte-Geneviève
 1. 1596, Semur 1. 1183,
Arras 1. 7622, Auvergne
 1. 262 - 1. 263, Michel
 1. 19644 - 1. 19645

« en mal feu soit son cors ars »: Palatinus 1. 421; close
 to Sainte-Geneviève
 1. 1949, Semur 1. 3367 -
 1. 3368, Greban
 1. 19920

« Pendux soit quil bien ne bevra! »: Semur 1. 1382; close to
Michel 1. 21757

« Le sanglant gibet y ait part! »: Greban 1. 21118

(Invoking God)

« par Dieu » } Palatinus 1. 248, Biard
 1. 529, Sainte-
 « Par le grand Dieu » } Geneviève 1. 202, Semur
 etc.) 1. 1370, Arras 1. 1621,
Greban 1. 19413, Auvergne
 1. 104

« Diex le maite en pute semaine »: Palatinus 1. 898; like
Semur 1. 9053, Arras

l. 5035, Auvergne l. 2739,
Michel l. 12767

«Dieu le grant en ait male
feste!»: Arras l. 5338, Greban
l. 19112, Michel l. 20265

«par les yeulx Dieu»: Semur l. 2801

« Le poitron Dieu»: Semur l. 5550

« Par les patins Dieu»: Greban l. 20912

(Invoking the devil)

«De par le diable»: Sainte-Geneviève l. 1590;
close to Semur l. 5775,
Arras l. 4912, Greban
l. 22826, l. 22950, Auvergne
l. 2713, Michel l. 21823

« diable y ait part!»: Semur l. 7339

«Cent de diables»: Semur l. 3380

« Le dyable te puist emporter!»: Arras l. 4998; close to
Greban l. 24842, Michel
l. 2461 - l. 2462

«le deable en puist rompre sa
pate!»: Greban l. 25863

It will be seen clearly enough from these examples that the Passion play devils' oaths are essentially similar to those of other ungodly characters. Nevertheless, in the fifteenth century, they were developed in certain ways to become especially "adapted" to suit use by devils.

In Semur, two oaths (l. 772, l. 5394), refer vulgarly to the devils' ugly physique, to their faces and bellies; also, throughout Arras, Greban and Michel is found a vein of oaths involving physical features of the devils, such as poison, their hooks and paws. Some other oaths draw attention to their spiritual ugliness, and here J. Michel has altered some of Greban's oaths to dwell on spiritual rather than on merely physical corruption (e.g. compare Michel l. 25643 - l. 25644, with its emphasis on «despit», with Greban l. 23407 - l. 23408, stressing physical numbers of devils).

More important than these, though, are, particularly in Arras and Greban and also present in the Baptism and Temptation, oaths that refer to features and tortures of Hell itself, such as the fire, the cauldron, the gibbet, or that use images of violence, such as tearing limb from limb, skinning alive, or storm and tempest. Such oaths seem to be a conscious means of extending the description and effect of the stage Hell, to give it more "realism", as was suggested in Chapter II, p. 151, for other textual descriptions of Hell. It is in elaborate dismissals that this imagery tends to reach its height.

Another purpose of these dismissals, in the Passions in general, was to contrast with the blessings and salutations of godly characters, as for example:

« Diex te veille conduire! »: e.g. Sainte-Geneviève
 1. 334; close to Semur
 1. 3345 - 1. 3346, Arras
 1. 1875, Greban 1. 1540 -
 1. 1541, Auvergne 1. 2038,
Michel 1. 5904 - 1. 5905

« Le Dieu des cieulx saul et begnie
 Toutes la belle compaignie,
 Et vous doint Dieu par son plaisir
 En honneur et richesse venir! »: Biard 1. 1693 - 1. 1694

« Dieu vous octroit magnificence,
 Honneur et triumphe royal,
 Et vous veulle garder de mal! »: Arras 1. 3313 - 1. 3315

Particularly in Greban, the pomposity of Lucifer's dismissals also calls to mind the fulsome language found in scenes involving proud human princes such as Herod, Pilate and the Pharisees, as for example:

« Dieu doint honneur, puissance et
 joye
 au tres craint prevost de Judee! »: Michel 1. 2667 - 1. 2668

« Le grant Dieu quil tout assouaige (soothes)
 Et quil tout fit et deffera,
 Quant sa volunté sera,
 Vous gart, Herode, mon cosin! »: Semur 1. 3874 -
 1. 3877

« Le grant Dieu, quil tout ce quil est
 Gouverne par grant ordonnance,
 Gart nostre evesque de pesance (trouble) »: Semur 1. 8311 -
 1. 8313

The natural idea that the devils, like other low types, should curse colourfully, and that Lucifer had to confer special power for each task on his agents, which was the basic inspiration of dismissals, was thus exploited, in the wordiest texts, to give the impression that vulgar, hideous and violent as they were, yet the devils also had the status of proud princes of darkness. The language of their oaths and dismissals spanned two worlds, the low and the high, paralleling the wicked humans and contrasting with the good and the divine.

However, there is one aspect of the devils' oaths in some plays that seems to be purely comic embroidery over and above this serious underlying thread. This is the unusually high incidence in Arras, Greban and Michel of oaths "by the devil" in diableries, as compared to their relative rarity amongst human cursers. Its presence in both Arras and Greban, and so obviously in Michel, but not elsewhere, is another argument for there being influence of Arras, or of similar plays, on Greban. However that may be, the idea behind all these oaths "by the devil" seems to be a mere joke, a reversal of the human tendency to swear by God - although occasionally, as if to reverse the direction of the humour, the devils swear by God too. Possibly curses "by the devil" may be connected with a trend, apparent from Semur onwards, towards making pagan characters swear by the gods thought to be suitable for them, for instance Tervagant (Semur 1. 4080 - 1. 4081, Greban 1. 21541 - 1. 21542), Jupiter (Greban 1. 22448), Venus (Greban 1. 22198), or Mercury (Greban 1. 27270), and so on.

(iii) Exclamations

Palatinus: «He, las »: 1. 1411

Sainte-Geneviève: «Las dolent! »: 1. 4027

« He! »: 1. 4071

Semur: «Hay, hay, hay, hay! »: 1. 782

«Haro »: 1. 1187

«Haro, haro! »: 1. 4213, 1. 5324

«Ah »: 1. 4164

«Helas! »: 1. 8492, 1. 8496, 1. 8692

«Hee! »: 1. 8744, 1. 8749

Arras: «Ahors! »: 1. 1130, 1. 7002, 1. 7003, 1. 17660,
1. 18059, 1. 18062, 1. 18078,
1. 18082, 1. 20591, 1. 20785

« Ahors, ahors! »: 1. 2418, 1. 14096

« Ahors, ahors, ahors, ahors! »: 1. 20613

«Ahors le murdre! »: 1. 6871, 1. 7002,
1. 7865, 1. 7911,
1. 17661, 1. 18153

« A hors de murdre! »: 1. 2418

«le murdre ahors! »: 1. 7866

« ahors le fu! »: 1. 18155

«Le murdre! »: 1. 7867, 1. 18082

«Ha, le murdre! »: 1. 7870

«Le murdre du sanglant larroncel! »: 1. 7908

« meschant murdrier que feray je? »: 1. 20592

« larron qu'ay je meffait (done badly)! »:
1. 7003

« Hé! »: 1. 20617

« Dy, hé »: 1. 1132, 1. 6841, 1. 13105

« dy, hé, hé! »: 1. 1119

« dia! »: 1. 1137

« hau! »: 1. 1113, 1. 7874, 1. 13103,
1. 14102

«Ha! »: 1. 20614

«Ha, hay! »: 1. 20864

«Haha! haha! haha! haha! »: 1. 20810

« ay! »: 1. 17675

« ai my! »: 1. 7002, 1. 18082, 1. 18094,
1. 18152

« ay mi, ay my! »: 1. 16337

« Ah! »: 1. 20594

« (Or) ça »: 1. 5497, 1. 5507

«Or ça ... ça»: 1. 1138, 1. 2442, 1. 2452,
1. 5534, 1. 20811

«Las!»: 1. 14139

«Las! dolent»: 1. 18065

«hélas!»: 1. 18074

«Ho!»: 1. 2441

«Ho la!»: 1. 16350

«ja tout perdu!»: 1. 7870

«Quel dyable!»: 1. 7875, 1. 7892

Greban: «Haro!»: 1. 427, 1. 648, 1. 3860, 1. 7297,
1. 7353, 1. 15100, 1. 15116,
1. 22018, 1. 23342, 1. 23343,
1. 26355, 1. 28876, 1. 23274

«Haro! haro! haro!»: 1. 10677, 1. 23290

«Ha!»: 1. 445, 1. 3726, 1. 7389, 1. 7392,
1. 7397, 1. 7422, 1. 10513,
1. 10525, 1. 10527, 1. 10530,
1. 10533, 1. 12339, 1. 17453,
1. 23306, 1. 23376, 1. 24494,
1. 26371, 1. 28924 .

«Or va ... va »: 1. 3758

«Hau!»: 1. 910, 1. 33408

«Harau!»: 1. 28934

«Hola!»: 1. 7313, 1. 24508, 1. 33466

«ça »: 1. 33484

«ça donc»: 1. 10559

«Or ça»: 1. 33424

«Hélas»: 1. 439, 1. 7404, 1. 7417,
1. 17361, 1. 17383, 1. 26391,
1. 33486

«Dea »: 1. 10475, 1. 22118, 1. 23374,
1. 28942

«Be!»: 1. 33398

Baptism and

Temptation: «Haro»: 1. 571, 1. 619, 1. 783

«Haro, haro!»: 1. 565, 1. 823

Auvergne: «Haro!»: 1. 647

«Las!»: 1. 3264

Michel: «Haro»: 1. 2220, 1. 2294, 1. 2297,
1. 2300, 1. 7832, 1. 8369,
1. 13893, 1. 17288, 1. 24011,
1. 25497, 1. 25523, 1. 28400,
1. 28402, 1. 28408, 1. 28650,
1. 28664

«Haro, haro!»: 1. 28396

devils only occasionally employ, most often at the crucial Harrowing of Hell (Sainte-Geneviève, Semur, Auvergne). That the devils usually sounded raucous is proved by certain sarcastic names, such as «Flahault »), "Flute", who appears in Arras (see Chapter II, p. 130), and also certain directions and remarks in the text, such as in Arras l. 7864 - l. 7865, where, after the exorcism of the Canaanite Girl, «CERBERE dyable criant et brayant dit. Ahors le murdre ...!» etc., or Arras l. 1141 which says «Quel dyable avez vous d'ainsi braire? »), Greban l. 7303 «il crie que c'est grand hideur »), l. 33335 «Il brait comme ung lou forcené »), Michel l. 25330 - l. 25331 «En enfer m'en voys tout batant (at once),/ moytié hurlant, moytié chantant »).

In Arras, however, though not just in diableries, the exclamations are apparently unique, for «Ahors» is not found elsewhere, and they are more than usually fertile, in that they are multiplied and combined with each other with some flexibility. We shall see below that the author of Arras seems to have had an interest in word-play and these exclamations may be related to this. It is something about Arras that was not imitated by A. Greban, for some reason; his devils', and other characters', exclamations are quite ordinary.

(iv) Colloquial expressions

Palatinus: « ... com tu as autre prise
Qui te dourroit sus la crabosse!
("You're about to get more than you
bargained for
You'll get it in the neck!") »:
l. 1281 - l. 1282

« Joué avez a la bell'oe
("You've played the fool!") »: l. 1348

« Je te ferai les iex sallir!
("I'll make your eyes pop!") »: l. 1306

Semur: « il sont prins a l'ouche
("they are ensnared") »: l. 779
« Je croy qu'aux papillons chassés »: l. 1209
« je fay faire a Dieu la loppe
("I'm making people stick out
their tongues at God") »: l. 5352

<<Joueront de ly a la clicque

("They'll give Him a hammering")>>: 1. 5354

<<Je croy nous y larons l'estorce

("I think we'll have a battle on our hands")>>:
1. 5380

<<a ses oreilles roter

("din into his ears")>>: 1. 5392

<<Tu nous a bien le dos frotté

("You've fairly got us clobbered")>>:
1. 8752

<<Tu nous a bien faict la baboe

("You've fairly cocked a snook at us")>>:
1. 8754

Arras: <<Savoir quel grant dyable il y a>>: 1. 1133

<<Quel gibet d'infer dictes vous?>>: 1. 1136

<<Quel dyable avez vous d'ainsi braire?>>:
1. 1141

<<Il semble que ly diable vous tiengnent!>>:
1. 2394

<<Si ne sçay quel diable en diriez>>: 1. 17716

<<Demandez leur quel diable ilz ont>>: 1. 20534

<<Quel sanglant diable vous anoie>>: 1. 20537

<<... fay ... ton personnage

("act in character") >>: 1. 1183

<<

Que cel angle a volu brasser ^{... savoir} (brew up)>>:
1. 1212 - 1. 1213

<<Ce fait qu'on brasse>>: 1. 14098

<<Avez vous la feve trouvée>>: 1. 20541

<<Guidiez vous pour une chançon

Issir ainsi hors de no main?>>: 1. 20543 -
1. 20544

<<

Plus que ne fu oncques buée ^{... tu sera batu}>>: 1. 14190 -
1. 14191

<<Aussi bien qu'oncques fu buée>>: 1. 20678

("you'll be beaten harder than ever
washing was pounded")

<<Avez vous les testes benitez?>>: 1. 20539

<<Se n'y acoute jou deux aux>>: 1. 20608

Greban: <<Le deable nous confortera>>: 1. 437

<<se tout le deable ne l'emporte>>: 1. 26253

- « se le grand deable ne t'emporte »: 1. 1223
 « Si que le grant deable l'emporte »: 1. 15155
 « le deable les acharia
 ("the devil brought them") »: 1. 3793
 « ou deable vous emportera »: 1. 3774
 « savoir quel deable le couva »: 1. 7306
 « Quel deable d'homme est ce Jhesus? »: 1. 10455
 « Le deable tout sus »: 1. 10689
 « quel sanglant deable te ramaine? »: 1. 12338
 « ne quel deable me contredit »: 1. 17324
 « Je ne sçay que diable il y a »: 1. 22014
 « quel deable l'a cy resjouy »: 1. 23276
 « se le deable n'y met la pate »: 1. 23371
 « le deable m'a bien avoyé
 ("the devil guided me") »: 1. 25044
 « que deable n'y scet bouter groing
 ("no devil could get his snout into it") »:
 1. 28961
 « ne sçay qui deable m'a tenu »: 1. 28963
 « je ne sçay que deable il luy fault »: 1. 33336
 « se les deables ne me tiennent »: 1. 10481
 « je leur ay brassé ce brouet »: 1. 929
 « qui nous a brassé ce brassin »: 1. 15123
 « j'ay cy brassé ung ouvrage »: 1. 25028
 « que j'ay ce brouet cy brassé »: 1. 25046
 « du beau brassin que j'ay brassé »: 1. 31934
 « je ne sçay que gibet il brasse »: 1. 31948
 « d'aultre costé je desbrasse ("undo") »: 1. 31949
 « quanque brassé tu as »: 1. 21882
 « Tout tel que nous l'avons brassé
 le fault boire... »: 1. 447 - 1. 448
 « L'homme est happé a la trainee;
 ... il est pris au bric,
 ... il est en pic
 ("Mankind is caught by the coat-tails;
 he's trapped in a snare,
 the game's all up with him") »:
 1. 920 - 1. 922
 « il est en pic »: 1. 23350, 1. 24502

- « Il y ara feste a baton »: 1. 3760
- « c'est assez pour fendre cervelles »:
1. 3869
- « vous y vendrez ou cru ou cuit »: 1. 3771
- « quelque chose soubz le mortier »: 1. 7147
- « Ung point luy avoye encorné (put in mind) »:
1. 7440
- « mon fait n'y vault une nois »: 1. 10500
- « quand tu m'en parles grain ne goute »:
1. 10462
- « il sont frotés a grosse cloche »: 1. 10538
- « notre brigade est bien taillie
d'avoir tres orde compaignie
("our gang looks very much like having
some very filthy company") »:
1. 7324 - 1. 7325
- « il nous convient estre houssés (beaten) »:
1. 10526
- « j'ay bien fait plus fort que fer »: 1. 10687
- « qu'aucun ne te serve de lobe
("in case anyone dupes you") »: 1. 15159
- « combien que je seray froté
cent contre ung ...
("although I bet a hundred to one that
I get a thrashing") »:
1. 17338 - 1. 17339
- « pour nous despoullier cent contre ung »:
1. 26229
- « pour faire fort l'ensongnié
("by pretending to have urgent
business elsewhere") »: 1. 17356
- « ... qu'il soit manié
ung tantinet en bourgeoisie
("handle him gently (i.e. thrash him)
for a while") »:
1. 17357 - 1. 17358
- « qui est a dessus et a triple
("which is first class") »: 1. 17440
- « il ne vault denier »: 1. 17449
- « et est taillié d'estre croqué
("and he looks set to get caught") »: 1. 23370
- « tu ne fauldras point de croquier ("snap up")
la robe ... »:
1. 25735 - 1. 25736

- << ... ne sçay venir a taille
 de le faire a mal pervertir >>: 1. 15178 -
 1. 15179
- << ... jamès je ne ches (fall) a taille
 de ce faulx Jhesus engigner (trick) >>:
 1. 17333 - 1. 17334
- << pour nous flajoller en l'oreille
 ("by warbling into our ears") >>: 1. 23279
- << j'ay bien songé ric a ric
 ("I've thought it out just right") >>:
 1. 23349
- << mieulx me vaulsist livrer aux chiens >>:
 1. 25054
- << tendray pié a boulle
 ("I'll hold firm") >>: 1. 25056
- << il a joué du cabas
 ("He's swindled us") >>: 1. 26367
- << il en rotira la lamproye
 ("he'll pay dearly for it") >>: 1. 26396
- << Les wallequins furent foulés
 bien laidement ...
 ("He trampled us underfoot") >>: 1. 28938 -
 1. 28939
- << d'ung coussin musez
 ("you're barking up the wrong tree") >>:
 1. 28941
- << si orrons quel bout va devant
 ("we'll get the story straight") >>: 1. 31938
- << ne lui vaudra pas une osiere >>: 1. 31952
- << ... je leur ay tel pusce mise
 en l'oreille ... >>: 1. 31965 -
 1. 31966
- << qui aroit sa plice escousse
 ("who'd get his fur thrashed") >>: 1. 33387
- << Ce ne sera pas sans sentir
 des miches de nostre couvent
 ("It won't be without feeling the
 coshes (literally, "loaves", from the
 shape) of our convent") >>:
 1. 33396 - 1. 33397
- << Ne m'escouez point de la muse
 ("don't fool around with me") >>: 1. 33436

« vous avez le baing ("you're for it") »: 1. 33485

« ... raconter la bescousse
comment nous sommes acroupis
("to tell about our overthrow and
how we've been brought low") »: 1. 33385 -
1. 33386

« nous en serons tous accroupis »: 1. 17418

Baptism and

Temptation: « donner aux humeins mal an »: 1. 631

« nous scerons ... bien gallés
("we'll be well entertained, i.e.
thrashed") »: 1. 826

Auvergne: « tu ne vaulz pas deux noiz! »: 1. 133

Michel: « ne quel grant dyable l'a presché »: 1. 2217

« si les dyables ne me tiennent »: 1. 2240

« Je ne sçay d'ou dyable ce vient »: 1. 2275

« et quel dyable sçay je? »: 1. 2350

« Je ne sçay quel dyable conclure »: 1. 3125

« Je ne sçay pour quel dyable ilz font
a ceste heure cy si grant feste »:
1. 7806 - 1. 7807

« quel senglant dyable te ramaine? »: 1. 8432

« Ou dyable est Sathan? »: 1. 13923

« si fort que le dyable l'emporte »: 1. 13930

« Si le diable a mon fait ne pense »: 1. 13947

« ne quel dyable me contredit »: 1. 17215

« le dyable le sache »: 1. 17300

« Ou dyable seroit elle allee? »: 1. 23963

« Que dyable l'a tant resjouy? »: 1. 25499

« C'est le dyable qui(1) les reveille »:
1. 25503

« pour quel dyable en sortiront ilz? »:
1. 25532

« si le dyable n'y met la pate »: 1. 25584

« Le dyable le m'a bien appris »: 1. 25624

« Et quel grand dyable ferons nous »: 1. 25613

« comment dyable y entreroit il? »: 1. 27093

« Le dyable m'a bien convyé »: 1. 27514

« Se le dyable ne le couva »: 1. 28095

« Quel grand dyable te tient? »: 1. 28647

- << si le grand dyable ne l'emporte >>: 1. 28673
 << mon fait ne vault une noix >>: 1. 2259
 << il convient estre houssés >>: 1. 2293
 << ilz sont sonnés a grosse cloche >>: 1. 2303
 << qui nous brasse tout ce venin >>: 1. 13900
 << j'ay brassé ung tel ouvrage >>: 1. 27498
 << que aucun ne te happe a la robe
 ("in case anyone should catch you
 by the coat-tails") >>: 1. 13934
 << pour faire fort exonyé
 ("by acting very much as if he's
 already been excused") >>: 1. 17247
 << il est une fine mouche >>: 1. 17344
 << d'avoir happe Jesus au bric
 ("having ensnared Jesus") >>: 1. 25326
 << pour nous flagoller a l'oreille >>: 1. 25502
 << ... ne sçay venir a taille
 de le faire a mal pervertir >>: 1. 13955 -
 1. 13956
 << je ne puis tumber a taille >>: 1. 17224
 << quelz baulievres Judas!
 ("what blubber lips Judas has!") >>: 1. 23975
 << Je ne le crains pas deux deniers >>: 1. 25549
 << Mieulx me vaulsist livrer aux chiens >>: 1. 27524
 << tiendray pié a boulle >>: 1. 27526
 << pour nous despouller cent contre ung >>: 1. 28649

A very great number of colloquial expressions similar to the devils' are found in popular and bourreaux scenes, such as the following:

- << tu aras ceste craboce ("blow" (to
 the head)) >>: Semur 1. 3364, close to
Palatinus 1. 1282
 << ... on brasse
 ung mauvais brouet a quelque ung >>: Michel 1. 18457 -
 1. 18458
 << Il ne scet pas ce qu'on luy brasse >>: Michel 1. 21783; close
 to Arras 1. 1213, Greban

1. 447 - 1. 448, 1. 929,
1. 15123, 1. 21882,
1. 25028, 1. 25046,
1. 31934, 1. 31948 -
1. 31949, Michel 1. 13900
- « ne le prise un bouton »: Sainte-Geneviève 1. 694
- « Je ne me pris pas une pome »: Sainte-Geneviève 1. 1876
- « Cestuy ne vault mieulx d'une plume »: Greban 1. 25022
- « Tous ne valés pas deux ongnons! »: Auvergne 1. 2855
- « De ly ne donroie .i. bouton »: Sainte-Geneviève 1. 1956
- « ton faict ne vault pas ung aillot »: Greban 1. 4788
- « Trestout n'en vault pas une maille »: Greban 1. 28821; close to
Arras 1. 20608, Greban
1. 10501, 1. 31952,
Auvergne 1. 133, Michel
1. 2259
- « il ne dit que lobes »: Sainte-Geneviève 1. 2045
- « De tes bourdes (lies) .i. pou le
lobe »: Sainte-Geneviève 1. 1880;
close to Semur 1. 5352,
Greban 1. 15159
- « Tu es bien taillé d'estre l'ours »: Semur 1. 9033
- « se la bourde chet a taille »: Greban 1. 20512; close
to Greban 1. 15178 -
1. 15179, 1. 17333 -
1. 17334, Michel 1. 13955 -
1. 13956, 1. 17224
- « ... on happe
... a la chappe »: Michel 1. 14550 -
1. 14551; close to
Greban 1. 920, Michel
1. 13934
- « ric a ric »: Greban 1. 30610
- « ne prenons pas la chose si au ric »: Michel 1. 1402; close to
Greban 1. 23349
- « fust il or ouchiez ("hit")! »: Sainte-Geneviève 1. 1588,
close to Semur 1. 779
- « ... il l'a eu belle:
tu as fait la cloche lever »: Greban 1. 20966 -
1. 20967; close to Greban
1. 10538, Michel 1. 2303
- « il me fait le papelart (hypocrite)! »: Palatinus 1. 420
- « si fait si la marmitaine
(hypocrite) »: Palatinus 1. 897, close to
Greban 1. 19392, 1. 22745,

Michel 1. 24814

- «ne faictes plus la chiche »: Semur 1. 6091
- « Reguardez com il fait l'araigne! »: Semur 1. 6385
- « Se damp (lord) Jhesu fait la dormeille
(is sleeping) »: Semur 1. 7833
- « J'en feray bien mon parsonnage »: Greban 1. 14336, close
to Arras 1. 1183
- « faictes l'abille! »: Auvergne 1. 2403
- « le paillart nous fait cy le sourt! »: Michel 1. 11046; close
to Arras 1. 1183,
Greban 1. 17356,
Michel 1. 17247
- « Il a le groing trop bien empraint »: Greban 1. 20943
- « ... bouter mon groing
dedans le pot a la moustarde »: Greban 1. 7614 -
1. 7615; close to
1. 28961
- « le baing est chault »: Greban 1. 30040, close
to 1. 33485

A considerable number of human colloquial expressions turn on «diable» and some on «gibet»:

- « Je croy que les dyables vous on tenuz! »: Biard 1. 912
- « Bien m'ont les diables enbahy
(stupefied) »: Sainte-Geneviève
1. 1683
- « Au diable je me vois donner »: Sainte-Geneviève
1. 1716
- « les diables le firent nestre »: Sainte-Geneviève
1. 1982
- « Qui dyable vous a avise' »: Sainte-Geneviève
1. 3589
- « Les diables nous ont bien tenu »: Semur 1. 8967
- « Diables vous ont fait ainsin sage »: Semur 1. 9015
- « Le dyable t'a bien enchanté! »: Arras 1. 5024
- « Quel diable voulez si matin? »: Arras 1. 11481
- « Le diable m'a bien huquiet (called)! »: Arras 1. 12014
- « le deable y en avoit tant mis? »: Greban 1. 7727
- « les deables l'ont bien advoyé »: Greban 1. 7815
- « je ne sçay que deable il leur fault »: Greban 1. 15517,
Michel 1. 14326
- « Qui deable nous a ateré? »: Greban 1. 19100
- « que le deable y acqueure »: Greban 1. 20272

- « il fait le gibet froit »: Greban 1. 19408
 « Il aroit son sanglant gibet »: Greban 1. 20180
 « s'ung sanglant gibet ne l'atrappe »: Greban 1. 20187
 « Ou deable as tu trouvé cecy »: Greban 1. 25824
 « le deable l'emportera »: Greban 1. 27423
 « Que gibet le hasterons nous? »: Greban 1. 24240
 « Quel dyable luy a conseillé? »: Michel 1. 10391
 « Quel dyable venes vous cryant? »: Michel 1. 11052
 « Il desplest tant que c'est le diable »: Michel 1. 11101
 « On ne scet quel dyable il devient »: Michel 1. 14783
 « Assés pour le dyable d'enfer »: Michel 1. 18657
 « Que dyable vous fault il si tart? »: Michel 1. 19605
 « Je ne sçay quel dyable ont ouy
 mes voisins ... »: Michel 1. 15488 -
 1. 15489
 « Cest homme cy presche le dyable »: Michel 1. 16089
 « il est fin que c'est le dyable »: Michel 1. 17115
 « Quel dyable sçay je? »: Michel 1. 20255
 « Tu fais le dyable »: Michel 1. 21689
 « le dyable n'en chevira pas (will
 not get the better of) »: Michel 1. 19685
 « le grand dyable luy aydera »: Michel 1. 19799
 « je ne sçay quel dyable il luy fault »: Michel 1. 22776
 « Que dyable ne parle il donc? »: Michel 1. 24220
 « Quel dyable as tu fait du pilage »: Michel 1. 24681
 « le dyable n'y sçaroit fournir »: Michel 1. 24894
 « Que dyable vault tant le garder? »: Michel 1. 25808
 « Quel dyable differes tu doncques »: Michel 1. 25839
 « Quel grand dyable ceste croix poise! »: Michel 1. 26264
 « regardés quel dyable de fust (timber,
 i.e. the Cross) »: Michel 1. 26271
 « Le dyable te mercye pour tous »: Michel 1. 26302
 « quel dyable il est fumeux (annoyed) »: Michel 1. 29624

The general similarity of the devils' and other low characters' colloquial speech obviously strengthens the links between them. However one noticeable difference between the expressions used in the diableries and in the low human scenes is that in some texts - Arras and especially Greban - those which involve words like «diable» and «gibet» seem somewhat commoner inside diableries than elsewhere; apparently this is meant as a kind of word-play, like some of the oaths, dismissals

and exclamations in Arras and Greban. Yet in Michel, while there are more expressions involving «diable» in the diableries, yet there are also many more in the rest of the text, so that they are no longer any special feature of the devil-scenes. Just why J. Michel should have been so fond of expressions with «diable» is obscure, unless conceivably he was trying to use them to convey overtly, rather than by mere implication, the link between the devils and vulgar humans.

(v) Comparisons

Palatinus: «Fil a putain, plus noir que choe (jackdaw)»: 1. 1346

«Plus blanc que nule fleur de lis»: 1. 1365

Semur: «Je reluy plus que nulle estoille,
Plux respandis qu'une estincelle »: 1. 232 -
1. 233

«Nostre orgueul nous a fait venir
Plux noirs que tacre (tanned? hides) »: 1. 422 - 1. 423

«Va voulant en l'air comme foudre»: 1. 1188

«Trestout chié, plux vil que boe»: 1. 8753

Arras: «... transfigurez laidement
Plus noirs que ne soit aierement (bronze) »: 1. 20650 - 1. 20651

« Tu seras plus battu que plastre »: 1. 20681

Greban: «bruyez comme toureaux famis»: 1. 912

« Les vecy cliquans (brilliant) comme ung
voirre »: 1. 938

« je veil que vous me rotissiez
aussi rouge comme ung charbon »: 1. 1650 -
1. 1651

« dragons plus ardans que tempeste »: 1. 3715

« ardans comme feu de tonnoirre »: 1. 937

« vous hurlez comme ung lou famis »: 1. 3724

« ... barbetez (mumble?) comme marmotes
ou vielz corbeaux tous affamés »: 1. 3846 - 1. 3847

« ardant comme feu de fournaise »: 1. 3978

« torchons ("blows") plus drus que pois en pot »: 1. 7312

« ... ton regard
plus tresperçant qu'ung basilique »: 1. 7315 -
1. 7316

« ... je m'en vois tout conffus,
hurlant comme ung loup forcene »: 1. 7351 -
1. 7352

- << ... du feu d'enfer
 plus ardent que feu de tempeste >>: 1. 7385 -
 1. 7386
- << ... il art
 comme brandons au vent remus >>: 1. 7393 -
 1. 7394
- << plus tost que pierre de bombarde >>: 1. 10563
- << mes j'ay bien fait plus fort que fer >>: 1. 10687
- << plus ardent que barre de fer >>: 1. 12334
- << plus rouge que n'est feu gregeois (Greek) >>:
 1. 17393
- << Ce semble ung vieulx matin famis,
 hullant huit jours en ung tenant >>: 1. 17411 -
 1. 17412
- << oncques nul jour le roy Mydas
 ne fut plus remply d'avarice >>: 1. 17443 -
 1. 17444
- << ... courez
 comme chiens a mont et a val >>: 1. 17461 -
 1. 17462
- << ... hurlez a grande goullee
 comme vielz loups tous affamés >>: 1. 22068 -
 1. 22069
- << C'est ung gouffre desmesuré
 ou il n'a rive ni mesure;
 ce samble une vielle mesure,
 tant a grans machoires et lees (broad) >>:
 1. 22096 - 1. 22099
- << Dix millions d'ames dampnees
 n'y font ne que feve en ung puis,
 et si ont les museaux mieulx cuis
 et les cervelles mieulx brulees
 que d'estre cent ans affulees
 d'ung fourneau de metal ardent >>: 1. 22100 -
 1. 22105
- << plus haut que les mons d'Armenie >>: 1. 22157
- << deables plus dru que pere et mere >>: 1. 23363
- << chien enragé [plus
 aussi] puant que fiens >>: 1. 23393
- << j'ay affuté (fitted out) nostre portal
 de grosses roches de metal
 aussi grandes que haulx chasteaux >>:
 1. 26239 - 1. 26241

- « J'ars tout comme rouge fournaise »: 1. 26338
- « ce sont les beaux jeux qu'il scet faire
que de crier, hurler et braire
comme ung lou de rage affame »: 1. 28881 - 1. 28883
- « ... mes grand botes
aussi ternyes qu'escarbotes »: 1. 28899 -
1. 28900
- « ... forte fievre quarte
chaulde comme feu infernal »: 1. 28982 -
1. 28983
- « Il brait comme ung lou forcené »: 1. 33335
- « mes je fus frappé par le front
mieulx qu'ung veau n'est d'une massue »: 1. 33367 - 1. 33368
- « je suis tombé a la renverse,
les piez dessus, comme ung crappault »: 1. 33359 - 1. 33360
- « ... atampis (crushed)
...
comme beaux aux en ung mortier
par force de lourdes hurtures »: 1. 33390 -
1. 33393
- « ... resplandissans estoient
comme ung soleil de grant lueur »: 1. 33456 - 1. 33457
- « ... ung baing
de beau plonc et de beau metal,
bruyant comme feu infernal »: 1. 33476 -
1. 33478
- Michel: « plus tost que pierre de bombarde »: 1. 2366
- « devenu suis plus dur que fer »: 1. 3107 .
- « plus ardent que l'embrasé fer »: 1. 8428
- « ce semble ung matin estonné
de male rage forcenant »: 1. 17296 -
1. 17297
- « mais oncques le faulx roy Mydas
ne fut si remply d'avarice
qu'il est ... »: 1. 17328 -
1. 17330
- « es presque aussi nud q'ung ver »: 1. 17407
- « Il y tumbera plus parfons
que du plus hault mont d'Armenye »: 1. 24053 -
1. 24054
- « je mectray roches de metal
aussi grandes que grands chasteaux »: 1. 28660 - 1. 28661

One general function of comparisons in diableries seems to have been to carry information about the supposed nature of the devils and of Hell, information culled from the same kind of sources as were discussed in Chapter II and, presumably, intended to be factual. Thus, the most widespread and the earliest to appear of the comparisons in diableries is about the devils' black colouring - as seen in Palatinus, Semur and Arras - which is symbolic of moral corruption and contrasts deliberately with comparisons with the whiteness of lilies or the shining of stars or the sun, which all refer to Christ, to the blessed or to the devils' own condition before their Fall.

Similar, but except in Greban not widespread, are comparisons with all that is filthy, ugly, noisy and fiery in creation. In Greban there is systematic comparison of the devils with ugly, raucous or unpopular animals - (starving or rabid) bulls, monkeys, crows, wolves, hounds, toads - or with monstrous ones such as dragons or basilisks. Far more sustained than elsewhere is also comparison with concepts of chaos such as heat, fire, storm, pulverisation or hurtling speed, which, as well as characterising the devils themselves as wild, grotesque and superhuman in the most picturesque fashion, correspond exactly to popular beliefs about the tortures carried out on damned souls in Hell. For instance, the description in Greban l. 22100 - l. 22105 of the souls jammed together supposedly in Lucifer's mouth seems to be an echo of the idea of the traditional "oven" of Hell as seen in St. Patrick's Purgatory and derivative works like the Pricke of Conscience (see Chapter II, p. 110), and this goes for all the other, looser references to fire, molten metals and so on. In this way Greban's, and, to a lesser extent, other plays', comparisons contribute, as some dismissals did, to filling out the morally intended description of the "real" Hell.

J. Michel has, however, apparently deliberately toned down Greban's physical grotesqueness, for example:

Greban

Ce semble ung vieulx matin famis
hullant huit jours en ung tenant

(l. 17411 - l. 17412)

However in Michel this "starving hound howling for a week on end" has become, less vividly, merely "rabid":

ce semble ung matin estonné
de male rage forçant

(1. 17296 - 1. 17297)

Likewise, Greban's earthy «deables plus dru que pere et mere » (1. 23363) has become the spiritual «dyables enragez et plains d'ire » (Michel 1. 25576). The same tendency to "spiritualise" Greban can be seen if some of J. Michel's terms of address and dismissals are compared with their originals in Greban, as for instance:

Greban

... horrible segongne
au nit d'orgueil sans fin couvant

(1. 23360 - 1. 23361)

as against

Michel

... orrible charongne
en fier orgueil sans fin regnant

(1. 25573 - 1. 25574)

It is true that Michel's «charongne» is at first sight an uglier image than Greban's «segongne», but there was a tradition linking the stork, renowned for its faithfulness to its nest, with the deadly sin of Sloth, and this may be what A. Greban means: Lucifer is "lazy" because he cannot, in fact, move at all from his place (see p. 146) (5). At any rate, J. Michel's version of this second line is markedly more spiritual in that the idea of "pride" is reinforced by more abstract terms, «fier» and «regnant». Among the dismissals, compare Greban's «... que tous les noirs/ de l'orrible lieu désolé/ te ramainent ars ou brulé!» (1. 26423 - 1. 26425) with Michel's

... que dix mille charretees
de dyables te puissent conduyre
et ramener enraigé d'ire

en la tenebreuse valee!

(1. 28692 - 1. 28695)

Here again, A. Greban's physical concept - «ars et brulé» - has been replaced by a more abstract one - «ire». It can be seen that ideas such as «ire», «deraison» and the like, which stress the spiritual state of the devils rather than their, and all Hell's, physical state, are noticeable in many of J. Michel's terms of address for the ordinary devils as well, whom A. Greban often characterises as physically monstrous. However, direct comparisons are less readily to hand here because it happens that A. Greban's most vivid examples of this - 1. 7377 - 1. 7378 and 1. 26383 - 1. 26384, plus 1. 28894 - 1. 28897 - fall in text outwith J. Michel's chosen coverage; yet his own preference for the abstract is shown by his choice in the new diablerie added after the execution of John the Baptist:

La dyabolique nature,
la malice d'espris mauldiz,
l'ombre de la male adventure,
dyables de tous biens interditz,
folz entendemens alourdis,
malheureux dampnés execrables (1. 7790 - 1. 7795)

However, J. Michel has apparently, in the process of growing more spiritual about the devils, jettisoned some information about Hell, because however "authentic" in inspiration this was in Greban, the fact is that in practice it was tied to some extent to the deliberate development of a "grotesque" streak, and the comparisons have been an especially clear case of this. It is not yet appropriate to enter into a full consideration of why there should be this hint of a link between the giving of "authentic" information about Hell and the "grotesque" vein in some plays; this will occur below.

Nonetheless there is one minor point about Greban that does seem worth making now, because it relates directly to the comparisons which are made repeatedly between the devils and a variety of animals which have one thing in common - they are

raucous animals - monkeys, crows, and the like - and we know that A. Greban was for some time choirmaster at Notre Dame de Paris. His devils at times, most notably in their "anthem" in l. 3828 - l. 3869, are characterised precisely as monstrous "choirboys" who fight and sing hopelessly out of tune; no doubt this was by way of a local joke for a Parisian audience. It may be that J. Michel, in distant Angers with only a text to go by, did not really understand why this raucousness was so much stressed; but it may be that the grotesque in diableries was anyway growing less popular, for the Montferrand play, certainly independent of Greban and Michel, is also less grotesque in diableries, as will be seen again below. Be that as it may, it was quite common, at least into J. Michel's time, to use grotesque or violent imagery to characterise all bad groups like Pharisees or bourreaux:

« Je t'oy sy doucement chanter
comme ce c'estoit nostre chievre »: Semur l. 2759 - l. 2760

« Il chante comme ung hupperaut »: Semur l. 2771

«... ma vielle capeline (helmet)
plus rouge que le feu d'enffer »: Greban l. 17757 -
l. 17758

« nous sommes bruyans comme feu »: Greban l. 28863

« ... il a la pate
dure comme ung maillet de fer »: Greban l. 20920 -
l. 20921
Michel l. 22675 -
l. 22676

« Oncques vieulx lieppars arrabis
(Arabian)
n'orent tel fain de devorer
que nous avons de labourer (work)
a la mort du faulx ypocrite »: Greban l. 19026 -
l. 19029

« ... leurs princes sacerdotaulx
qui sont plus enfflés que crappaux »: Greban l. 21329 -
l. 21330

« Vela monseigneur tout vagant
[(wandering),
aussi esseulé (isolated) qu'ung
vielz chien »: Greban l. 21542 -
l. 21543

« tu as le museau rechigné
comme le groing d'un vielz lymier »: Greban l. 22620 -
l. 22621

<< escoutez quel butor veez cy >>: Greban l. 26512

Thus comparisons formed another link between these groups and the devils.

(vi) Latin and dog-Latin

- Greban: <<bany du lieu quod pro et
(meaning "the Garden of Eden", but
the inspiration is not obvious) >>: l. 930
- "Domine (to Lucifer)": l. 1716, l. 33466
- "recepisse (meaning a "blow", which is
"received" by the victim; from recipere)":
l. 3767
- "comparuit (meaning "appearance" in answer to
a summons; from comparare)":
l. 3772
- "Nichil (meaning "no"; from nihil)": l. 3784
- <<cil qui par phas ou nephas fault
(meaning "anyone who for a good or a bad
reason fails (to appear for a summons)";
based on fas, "that which is right or
permissible by divine law", and nefas,
"an offence against divine law" - the
latter still existed as a noun in Middle
French, of course) >>
l. 3795
- << nous pairons le profficiat (meaning "we
will go"; from proficere, "to advance") >>:
l. 3807
- << me chantez un silete (meaning "sing me a
song"; despite its derivation from silere,
"silete" eventually could mean "music" or
"song" in plays) >>:
l. 3832
- << C'est le silete ferial ("ordinary song") >>:
l. 3864
- << Faictes silete (here, it is unclear whether
"music" or "silence" is meant) >>:
l. 17339
- << il puist avoir un recipe ("blow" - see above
under recepisse) >>:
l. 15154
- << je craing d'avoir ung quid pro quo ("I'm
afraid I've got things the wrong way round") >>:
l. 23289
- "magister (to Lucifer)": l. 24508, l. 28974

« Ça, enffans, dictes: Peccavi (said when the devils have to report to Lucifer that they have failed in their task) »

1. 33484

Michel: « Dyables, ung petit silete »: 1. 2252
 « faictes ung silete »: 1. 17230
 « Ergo donques »: 1. 3171, 1. 3183
 « je crains d'avoir ung quiproquo »: 1. 25512
 « il puisse avoir ung recipe »: 1. 13929
 "magister": 1. 27082

Latin, and dog-Latin, is found in diableries only in Greban and Michel, but in other plays it does occur outside them. Sometimes its use is entirely serious; indeed, it is so in the Temptation of Jesus diablerie in Michel, when Satan quotes from the Scriptures (1. 2919 - 1. 2920, 1. 2927 - 1. 2928). It is on this occasion that he uses the scholarly phrase « Ergo donques » to introduce some of his arguments; and indeed the intention is, precisely, to make him speak "in character" for the scholar that he is pretending to be - although J. Michel himself is somewhat given to pedantry, so that creator and creature's voice are not, in the event, so very different. Generally, though, it is true that Latin in diableries is facetious, occurring during comic routines such as the questioning and/or punishment of a devil who has failed, or revolving around a "running joke" such as the devils' supposed proficiency as advocates - see below.

The use in general of somewhat facetious, or at least not wholly serious, Latin can be found in scenes about lowly humans such as shepherds, servants and so on. For instance, in Semur the three shepherds, after visiting the baby Jesus, make their way home late, singing hymns in Latin in imitation of the angels, and are met with sarcasm by their wives:

« Dont viens tu, grant jubillemus »: Semur 1. 2757
 « Il nous a fait beaul Sanctorum »: Semur 1. 2772
 « Jossieret, mache fortiter »: Semur 1. 2794
 « Ce n'est pas cy verumtamen »: Semur 1. 2818

What seems to be important here is not so much the real meaning of the snatches of Latin - phrases from hymns, or complex-sounding adverbs and conjunctions - as simply their incongruous effect in the mouths of such humble folk. Other cases are similar in intention, but the Latin is simpler and fits more clearly into the sense of what is being said, so that it comes nearer to the devils' Latin:

« j'ay fait ung Deo gracias
a ce matin d'une saulcisse »: Greban 1. 4311 -
1. 4312

In other words, the speaker had a meal - "Grace". Compare also:

« Monseigneur le preposite
bona dies a ce matin! »: Greban 1. 21568 -
1. 21569
Michel 1. 23358 -
1. 23359

In other words, "Good morning, boss" - much like the devils' calling Lucifer magister. There is a case of their nichil too:

« nichil au dos »: Michel 1. 24652

As for the "running jokes" in Latin about blows being "received", parallels exist alongside in the French which extend the joke considerably:

« Je te bailleray celle offrande:
Tieng la, tieng la, garde la bien »: Arras 1. 2409 -
1. 2410

In the same vein, the torture of devils is seen as the due "wages" or "salary" of Lucifer's "servants", "vassals" or "men-at-arms":

Arras: « Maintenant aras ta sauldée (salary)
Selon ton desléal merite »: 1. 5498 -
1. 5499
« Tieng, tieng, t'en auras ta sauldée »: 1. 20784
« Que n'aies pieur paiement »: 1. 20788

Greban: <<ASTAROTH

C'est Herode, vostre menistre,
qui vient pour querir son loyer.

LUCIFER

Sy le fault tres bien festoier:

...
nos lois a esté bien gardant,
c'est raison qu'il aist ses souldées >>:
1. 7988 - 1. 7995

<< je ne seray plus poursuivant:
les gages sont trop mal courtois >>:
1. 10541 - 1. 10542

<<J'ay entendu, ce m'est advis (I think),
la voix de nostre serviteur [Judas] >>:
1. 21770 - 1. 21771

<<vostre servant que tant amez
s'en vient icy de grant randon (speed)
pour estre ensaisiné (endowed) du don
de quoy vous payez vous soudas (mercenaries)>>
1. 22070 - 1. 22073

<< turez vous nostre souldoier? >>: 1. 22143

<< passez querir vostre salaire >>: 1. 33489

Michel: << le voix de nostre serviteur >>: 1. 23698

<<seras des grand [s] dyables affin (vassal)>>:
1. 24068

<< les gaiges y sont mal courtoys >>: 1. 2345

As a whole this joke about "gifts" and "wages" may be seen as a development of the idea of the "wages of sin". Obviously this was already well-known from sermons and so on in its own right, but it links up too with the feudal relationship of "service" and "reward" which characterises Lucifer and his agents both diabolic and human, along with all other master-servants units in the Passion plays, such as God and mankind at the highest level and (say) Pilate and the "knights" who offer themselves to guard the Tomb of Jesus in some plays at the lower level. Devils are called "vassals" in Arras 1. 20888 and Greban 1. 942.

Another running joke about torture was one found also among the human bourreaux (for instance in Greban 1. 20904 - 1. 20919) and in Semur's "Rusticus" series of scenes (e.g. 1. 1175), namely its comparison with offerings of "food":

- Arras: «Tieng la! T'aras ce crocque poix»: 1. 2417
Greban: «Encor aront ilz ceste prune»: 1. 10532
 «Nous avons cy unes estraintes (tortures)
 dont nostre groing sera servy »:
 1. 33482 - 1. 33483
Michel: «Encore auront ilz ceste prune»: 1. 2299

In the case of diableries this was especially apt, because so many of the traditional torments of Hell - boiling, roasting and the like - were "culinary" in nature.

A third well-known joke related to the Latin and dog-Latin was the devils' (rather satirical) status of "lawyers". In Greban, the devils sometimes call each other by the title «maître», for example «maistre Agrippart», 1. 448, «maistre coureur», 1. 3775, «maistre advocatz», 1. 3797; in 1. 3760 - 1. 3807 they have a protracted pseudo-legal discussion, complete with vernacular as well as dog-Latin jargon, about the penalties payable by any devil who fails to answer a summons from Lucifer, e.g. «procureur», «ordonnance», «advis» and «sommacion» are used. Several plays have the devils even suggest "appealing" (to God!) about the Fall of the Angels and the Harrowing of Hell - Semur 1. 426, Greban 1. 26343. At times a devil's task on earth, or his report about it to Lucifer, are seen as a "lawsuit" or «accessoire» (Greban 1. 17345 and Michel 1. 17236), «procès» (Greban 1. 17457, Michel 1. 17352) or «plait» (Arras 1. 5079). In Greban 1. 17373 - 1. 17396 and Michel 1. 17264 - 1. 17285 the idea is taken a stage further as Satan is made to "appeal" several times to Lucifer to call off the other devils while he is being punished for having failed to present Lucifer on his return from earth with any "gift" of souls to placate the "judge" (it being usual then to ply the judge before a hearing with gifts). Of course, up to a point, it made sense to treat a devil's temptation of humans as "pleading his case", since devils do in fact aim to influence their hearer by reasoned argument. Hence the fact that in Auvergne 1. 165 - 1. 174, before a temptation, the "advocates" are given a «lectre procuratoire» and a team of «clers et notaires» to record proceedings; in the same vein is the Baptism and Temptation (1. 666 - 1. 681). In

Greban and Michel a devil notes down on a scroll the "last will and testament" of Judas, which bequeathes to the devils his body and soul (Greban l. 21978 - l. 21981, Michel l. 23873). After the fiasco of the Ascension in Greban, however, three devils' stock falls so low that a fellow remarks that they "could do with a lawyer" to plead on their behalf, for by themselves they have no chance of success with Lucifer (l. 33430 - l. 33435). This characterising of devils as lawyers was a medieval commonplace seen in many other plays and occasionally among bourreaux in Passion plays - for instance «maistre Griffes» in Greban l. 21571 - but probably its most significant echo in the Passions was the status of the Pharisees as "princes of the law" as they were sometimes termed. The Pharisees did not act precisely as medieval lawyers, but they certainly had all their pedantry, and it is they who "try" Jesus and then have Him brutalised by their bourreaux at the start of the Passion, just like Lucifer with Satan.

A final link between Latin and facetious use of the vernacular is when, like the case of "Peccavi", the devils employ religious vocabulary which, in their mouths, is ridiculous:

- Semur: «L'Enfer veult tenir ung chappitre»: l. 1200
 «Je me veul a vous confesser»: l. 8426
Greban: «preschera»: l. 918, l. 7331, l. 21768
 «pelerin»: l. 7311
 « que je n'aye aumusse ou chape »: l. 7929
 « tous les deables y chantent messe »: l. 15191
 « il y ara belles matines »: l. 15205
 « nous diras tu quelque miracle? »: l. 23365
 « des miches de nostre couvent »: l. 33397
 « chapitre »: l. 7987
Michel: « je prescheray »: l. 23695

On the other hand, some texts use the black magic word "sabbath":

- Greban: « Vous menez ung cruel sabat »: l. 22138
 « il maine ung tres cruel sabbat »: l. 28879

Baptism andTemptation: «Laissés sabin, sabat, sabaut»: 1. 567Michel: «Vous menés terrible sabat»: 1. 24043(vii) Obscenity and scatologyPalatinus: «Tant li jeterai fiens et boue»: 1. 1352Semur: «Tournés le cul devers la bise»: 1. 267«S'on leur a point baptu les naiges
(buttocks)»: 1. 5346«... puant ordure,
Plux que charonne et longuaingne»: 1. 8744 -
1. 8745

«Trestout chié, plux vil que boe»: 1. 8753

Arras: «Venez avant, faulse merdaille»: 1. 20531Greban: «pour la doubte (fear) de moy crotter»: 1. 3769

«Il n'y a point de cul froter»: 1. 3770

«traisné dessus ses fesses»: 1. 3800

«Voulez vous qu'ilz soient escroté»: 1. 10515

«Sathan a, je croy, vent derriere»: 1. 10683

«au lieu de crouppir au fumier»: 1. 22115

«deables plus dru que pere et mere»: 1. 23363

«chien enragé puant que fiens»: 1. 23393

Baptism andTemptation: «Je mes le feu a froides coulles»: 1. 648Auvergne: «... que mal foire
te puisse tenir sans cesser!»: 1. 3260 -
1. 3261Michel: «Voulés vous qu'il soit descroté»: 1. 2282

«Sathan a, je croy, vent derriere»: 1. 3103

«tant qu'il n'y auroit cul ne teste»: 1. 13973

Yet in comparison with other "low" scenes, obscenity and scatology were not common in diableries. Contrast especially the "Rusticus" episodes in Semur:

«Li poz iront le cul querant!»: Palatinus 1. 902«S'il en mangue atout (with) l'escorce,
Qu'elles amplent trop bien la pence,
En feves a trop grant substance»: Semur 1. 1089 -
1. 1091«... pour une coille velue
Ma gentillesses m'est tollue
[(taken away)]: Semur 1. 1158 -
1. 1159«Mon pere dort, les coillez nuez»: Semur 1. 1143«Mal me mocquay oncques de coille»: Semur 1. 1165

- « Oncques, puis que les coilles vistes,
 Bien ne distes ne ne feïstes »: Semur 1. 1180 - 1. 1181
 « Fort il sant la merde! »: Semur 1. 2252
 « c'est donc merde de vaiche »: Semur 1. 2254
 « crote »: Semur 1. 2258
 « cul »: Semur 1. 2277, 1. 2320,
 1. 2323, 1. 3359,
 1. 3379, 1. 4480,
 1. 5549, 1. 9051
- « Ton cul fust bon varlet de forge,
 Il sçeit trop bien comment on souffle »: Semur 1. 3369 - 1. 3370
- « Ton cul me vault ung droit horloge,
 Tu vesses trop bien par compas (skill),
 Au point du jour tu n'y faulx pas,
 Par force de vent je m'esveille »: Semur 1. 2272 - 1. 2275
 « Elle ne fut en nuyt ruee »: Semur 1. 2312
 « quel culleraut »: Semur 1. 2770
 « coillons »: Semur 1. 3377, 1. 9035
 « Il chantera ou nid ma femme »: Semur 1. 5652
 « Ja chié ay »: Semur 1. 8975
 « crote »: Greban 1. 12167
 « mardaille »: Greban 1. 18569
 « cul »: Greban 1. 19418, 1. 22821
 « quu »: Auvergne 1. 2708, 1. 2921
 « cu »: Michel 1. 8061, 1. 8069,
 1. 8082, 1. 8276,
 1. 8278, 1. 20602,
 1. 26250, 1. 27170
 « vecir »: Michel 1. 8079
 « fesse »: Michel 1. 8097
- « le dyable m'a pissé si roydde
 contre le visage ... »: Michel 1. 8167 - 1. 8168
 « quant vous irés a la pipee »: Michel 1. 8092
 « culaine »: Michel 1. 11605
 « S'i vient plus sus nostre fumier »: Michel 1. 14559
 « Vous chirés bien si je vous torche
 (thrash) »: Michel 1. 19628

(It is fair to say that Michel 1. 8061 - 1. 8092 do occur during the possession by a devil of the Canaanite Girl, so that they do represent perhaps the indirect influence of the devil.) Certainly, the devil was, quite seriously, associated in contemporary belief with the supposedly unworthy natural functions of the body - eating,

drinking, digestion and sex; hence the leering faces which often appeared on appropriate areas of the stage devils' costumes and on devils in art (see Chapter II, p. 131). Thus the association of vulgarity with the devils and its parallel appearance in the mouths and antics of low humans was at root a moral condemnation of them all, not just a joke.

I have said "antics" because it is probable that vulgarity did go beyond the text, but there is no real evidence that this happened often. For example, in Semur, Dame Oyseuse, the personification of Idleness, may well have appeared in the nude, for she is told «prenés vos abillemens» (l. 270), as though it were feasible that she could leave them behind. In Greban Satan at one point puts on a pair of "riding-boots" which apparently have a somewhat obscene use, which he may or may not have demonstrated: he tells Lucifer that in them he rides «ung vieil usurier» (l. 28906) and «putains habandonnees/crouppans au bordeau pour l'argent» (l. 28912 - l. 28913). This is the sum of the cases hinted at in the actual text, however.

Thus on the whole it seems that obscenity and scatology were not as strong a feature of the French Passion play diableries - and perhaps those of other mystères - as they were of some other types of scene. Compare Moshé Lazar:

Il est notable que le langage du paysan et du fol comporte une bonne dose d'images sexuelles et scatologiques, dont on ne trouve pas la contrepartie dans les répliques des diables. (6)

(viii) Word-invention and adaptation

The following are examples of invented or adapted words, or parts of words and phrases, in diableries:

Semur: « faire le pis que [vous] pourrés
[nous] pourrons

(a devil's version of «faire du mieux que vous pourrez/nous pourrons») »:

l. 415, l. 441

Arras: <<Crapaudiable (apparently from <<crapaud>>+
<<diabie>>) >>:

1. 1114

<<Faire du pis que nous pourrons>>: 1. 6745

Baptism and Temptation: <<Laissés sabin, sabat, sabaut>>: 1. 567

It will be seen from this that the use of actually deliberately made-up words is rare; only in the case of <<crapaudiable>> is this found. The inspiration of this should be obvious. More frequent is exploitation of already known words or phrases, either for the sake of their sound, as in the use of <<sabin>> and <<sabaut>> alongside <<sabat>>, "(black) sabbath", in the Baptism and Temptation, in a sort of game of a changing suffix, or else for the sake of their meaning, as when the evil-doing devils are made to say <<faire du pis que nous pourrons>> instead of the more usual <<faire du mieux ...>>. It is perhaps worth mention here, too, that on occasions when, in Greban, Lucifer is being especially unctuous towards his devils, who are being rather silly, he calls them by the diminutive forms <<deablos>> (1. 3844), and <<dragonneaulx>> (1. 22112); also he sometimes sarcastically calls souls <<larronceaux>> (1. 3713, 1. 22091), instead of his more habitual forms of these words (see pp. 188 - 191 above), which reflect his more normal, more commanding, manner. The basic intention seems to be to amuse. This may be the case too, on the other hand, in the rather exceptionally grand and learned words which Greban and Michel occasionally put into the generally uncouth devils' mouths:

Greban: <<catherve>>: 1. 33427

Michel: <<comminacion ("fulmination"; that this means
"threat of divine wrath" adds, in the devils'
mouths, to the joke) >>:

1. 7802

<<proterve>>: 1. 7844

<<anichillee>>: 1. 23962

It may well be that some of the audience would not actually know the meaning of some of these words; at any rate, they would tend to produce an absurdly pompous effect. Indeed, verbal virtuosity, at least at the level of whole speeches and deliberately sustained displays, was important in diableries

from early on. The main technique used was simple enumeration.

(ix) Enumeration

In its earliest form, this was a list of sinner-types:

Palatinus: « Li roy, li conte et li princier,
Li apostoile (popes) et li legat,
Li cardinal et li prelat,
Li moine noir, li jacobin,
Li cordelier, li faus devin,
Li avocat, li amparlier (conciliators),
Li robéur, li usurier »:
1. 1314 - 1. 1320

Sainte-Geneviève: « J'ayme trop miex celui qui emble (steals),
Ou .i. murtrier et .i. herite,
.i. parjur ou .i. faulz hermite »:
1. 3952 - 1. 3955

Semur: « S'avés conquis prince ne conte,
Baillis ne prevosts, ne sergens,
S'il ont point pillié sur ses gens,
De dames et de damoiselles
Et de ces priveez pucelles,
De chambelieres, de norisses
Quil ont les visaiges si nices,
Et de ces liardes (grey) beguynes »:
1. 5334 - 1. 5341

Later, the "summons", or list of devils' types or names, appeared:

Semur: « Diables grans et gros et cours,
Diables qu'il gettés tempestes,
Diables aux cornuez testes,
Diables quil en l'air voulez
Quil maintes personnes affollez (madden),
Diables grands et vous, diables noir »:
1. 1193 - 1. 1198

« Diables gris, diables noirs »: 1. 5327

Arras: « Ou es tu, Sathan, Belzebus,
Astaroth, et toi Cerberus,
Zabulon, Belial, Crocquet,
Leviatan et Destourbet! »:
1. 1115 - 1. 1118

« Ou estes vous? Ou est Crocquet,
Agrappart, Riffart et Soufflet,
Grongnart, Flahaut et Tantalus
Bouffart, Nazart et Fernagus,
Dentart, Frongnart et Arroulliet
Urlant, Fouant, Trote de piet? »:
1. 6711 - 1. 6716

- « Diabes, diables, diables maudis,
Diabes dampnés, diables noircis »:
1. 20529 - 1. 20530
- « Cerbere, Astaroth, Burgibus,
Diabes conés, diables cornus,
Venez ça tous diables d'infer,
Diabes, diables, diables de mer,
Diabes conjurés par paroles,
Diabes qui parlez es ydoles »:
1. 20814 - 1. 20819
- « Ou est Urbant et Tantalus,
Bufar, Nazar et Fernagus,
Erroulliart, Rifflart et Dentart,
Fouant, Zaroes et Frongnart,
Gombaut le maistre des diabesses? »:
1. 20882 - 1. 20886

In Greban, it is rather the torments of Hell that are reeled off:

- « Saultez hors des abismes noirs,
des obscurs infernaux manoirs (dwellings),
tous puans de feu et de souffre,
deables, sailliez de vostre gouffre
et des horribles regions:
par milliers et par legions
venez entendre mon procès.
Laissez les chaisnes et crochès
gibès et larronceaux pendans,
fourneaux fournis, serpens mordans,
dragons plus ardans que tempeste »:
1. 3705 - 1. 3715

In Greban there are no lists of devils' names as a summons; instead, Lucifer reels off more elaborate terms of address (1. 23270 - 1. 23271, 1. 28868 - 1. 28873, 1. 28894 - 1. 28897), and Michel uses the same technique (1. 7790 - 1. 7795, 1. 25493 - 1. 25494) - see above, pp. 189 - 192 and 192 - 193. In the Baptism and Temptation, however, there is a brief list of names:

- « ... Sus, dyablerie!
Sathan, Belzebut, Astarot »:
1. 565 - 1. 566

There are examples of enumeration being used in cases other

than the summons. In Arras Lucifer gives two unusually long lists of powers or orders to Satan or to all the devils:

<< Et par moy te sera donne
 Pouoir de perpetrer tous maulx.
 Soit en montaignes ou en vaulx (valleys),
 De faire venter et tonner,
 De foudroier et estonner,
 De faire tous aultres desrois,
 D'esmouvoir guerre entre les rois
 Et les princes qui sunt au monde,
 Si grant comme il est a la ronde,
 De faire murdrier et pillier,
 De faire femmes efforcier,
 De faire tous aultres meschiefs
 As pouoir et en es querquiés.
 Va, ce fay qu'en ceste saison
 Des humains viengne en no maison
 Sans nombre par mons (heaps) et par milliers.
 Fay que noz chambres et celiers,
 Et tous les reduis de ceans
 Soient remplis de toutes gens. >>

l. 1186 - l. 1204

<< Furnissiez tres bien no infer,
 Fremez le a barrieres de fer,
 Et as chaines de fer ardans,
 Aux portes soiez bien gaitans,
 Qu'il n'y ait fenestre ou pertuis
 Qui ne soit pourvus et furnis
 De culvres (cannon) et de canons,
 Et se de la pourre n'avons
 Prenez sorcieres et sorciers,
 Faux convoiteux, faulx usuriers,
 Larrons, mordreux, faulx advocas
 Qui contre droit et par nefas (wickedness)
 Ont acquis ceans l'heritaige,
 Prenez, mettez les au potage,
 Car de telz gens est bien raison
 Qu'on face pourre de canon.
 Prenez l'avoir de convoiteux,
 Fondez le, faictes ent cailleux
 Pour craventer Dieu et ses gens,
 C'est raison que de telz argens
 Garnissons tres bien no infer,
 Car oncques ne voulrent donner
 Une aulmosne as povres gens,
 Tant fussent nuds et indigens,
 Prenez cros, kennes (chains) tatiffes (?)
 Et plusieurs aultres affiques (ornaments),
 Dont les femmes se vont parant.
 Faictes ent feu cler et ardent
 Et le composez a degoix (pleasure)
 Tant que ce soit fin feu grigois,
 Car de telz choses qu'ay nommées
 Aront les paupieres bruslées
 Dieu et ses gens s'ilz viennent cy,
 Prenez les grans estas aussi,

Chapperons, cottes a ces bours (wretches?)
 Prendez, ardez, le murdre ahors!
 Ardez, bruslez, faictes ent cendre,
 A faulseté vous fault entendre,
 Prendez ceux qui ont grans estas,
 Portez, prenez, ne jocquiez pas (don't slack),
 Boutez les dessous no chaudiere,
 Faictes en feu de grant maniere,
 Prendez yvrognes et gloutons,
 Ruez les ens, nous le voulons
 Mettez avec eulx les brouvetz (fruit?)
 Qu'ilz ont mengiez aux cabaretz,
 Faictes leur oingt tellement frire
 Que oille boullant les puissiez dire,
 Faictes ent boullir grant plenté (abundance)
 Et que tost soit tout apresté,
 Faictes du harnas des gens d'armes
 Pour voz bacines (helmets) et voz heaulmes,
 Et les faulx pillars et larrons
 Rotissiez les sur les charbons,
 Et en prenez grans carbonnées (slices?)
 De fin souffre bien assauseés (covered),
 Desinnez ent (attend to it?), car c'est
 cuyrie (tanning?)
 Telle qu'il fault a tel maisnie,
 Raguissiez trestous vos grauvés (hooks),
 Faictes que tantos soiez prés,
 Alez assir (set) guet aux crestiaux (arrow-slits),
 Esrailliez (roll) vos yeulx, vos musiaux,
 Ne dormez pas, braillez, hurlez,
 Faictes bon devoir a tous lez (parts),
 N'en faindez pas, gardez vous ent,
 La chose touche grandement

>>:

1. 18165 - 1. 18230

Note that the second speech contains a kind of sinner-list in 1. 18173 - 1. 18175; in any case the whole is highly didactic, very likely based on a sermon, certainly on common sermon themes about lack of charity, overdressing, drinking and gluttony and so on; compare Chapter II, pp. 110 - 111.

Another use of enumeration was in listing weapons. In Greban and Michel, Cerberus, the janitor of Hell, gloats over his equipment:

Greban: <<J'ay mes habillemens (equipment) tous prestz,
 mes barres, mes grosses ferrures,
 mes verrous, mes clefz, mes serrures

>>:

1. 15162 - 1. 15164

Michel: <<J'ay mes habillemens tous prestz,
 mes grosses barres, mes fermeures,
 mes couroix (bolts), apuys et claveures (locks),
 mes gros canons et mes bombardes,

serpentine (cannon) et avangardes (forward defences) »:
1. 13937 - 1. 13941

Desesperance reels off possible suicide weapons to Judas:

Greban: « j'ay mon rasoir, mon grant cousteau,
n'a cil qui ne soit bon et beau,
bien tranchant et de bonne forge
pour toy copper acop la gorge;
s'il te fault dagues ou poinçons
j'en ay de diverses façons:
tiens cestuy cy, fiers, en ta pence
bien serrement et si t'avence;
voicy les cordes et çaignons (nooses)
que j'appareille aux'compaignons
pour eulx estrangler tout acop »:
1. 21929 - 1. 21939

Michel: « Vecy dagues, vecy cousteaux,
forcettes (scissors), poinçons, allumelles
(blades);
advise, choisy les plus belles
et celle de meilleure forge
pour te couper a cop la gorge.
...
Tien cestuy cy, frappe en ta pance
Et luy fourres jusques au manche.
...
Ou, si tu aymes mieulx te pendre,
vecy las et cordes a vendre
pour se estrangler tout a ung cop »:
1. 23827 - 1. 23836

In the Baptism and Temptation, two devils boast at length of their past and present feats:

<<

ASMO

Je frappe, je tue, je discorde,
Je fais divisions et debas,
J'estrange les gens par ma corde,
De lieu hault je les rue en bas.

Je feis que Cayn tua son frere
Et que David par trahison
Urias mist en tel reppaire (spot)
Qu'il morust sens cause et reyson.

SATHAN

Et je feis qu'Absalon tua Amon
Et que Jobil Amasian frappa;
Abmellec nul ne leissa
De ses freres pour avoir non.
J'ay fait encores plus avant,
Car plus de cinq cens mille personnes

J'ay fait entrectuer pour neant
En guerres et autres grans foulles.

ASMO

Je mes le feu a froides coulles
Et les faitz luxurier a force;
Je fais manger grasses endouilles
Et d'espices la chaude escorsse.

Je fais les hommes tous goullus
Et les fais bruler d'advarice.
Que voulés vous que fasse plus?
Je suis le tempteur en tout vice >>:
1. 632 - 1. 655

It is in Greban that the most colourful examples of enumeration are found, however; and here it is not so much a mere piling up of words in general as a thick accumulation of adjectives around the nouns that produces the effect:

<<Oyez, deables, oyez ma voix
bruyant, tonnand comme tempeste >>:
1. 657 - 1. 658

<<Fronsez de vostre orde narine,
Lucifer, dragon furieux,
gettez souppirs sulphurieux,
brandonnez de flamme terrible,
cornez prise a voix tres horrible;
nous avons eu cruelz vacarmes >>:
1. 1698 - 1. 1703

<<Sathan, gette cy ton regard
plus tresperçant qu'ung basilique,
et en horrible rethorique
ornee de termes morteulx,
nous chante en motès despiteus
la maniere de ta besongne >>:
1. 7315 - 1. 7320

<<Faulx dragon, faulx matin famis,
perverse tortue mortelle,
m'apportes tu ceste nouvelle
la plus despite et plus mauvaie
que jamès en l'ardant fournaise
gorge de deable nous publie? >>:
1. 7377 - 1. 7382

<<Dragon pourry, puante beste,
serpent hideux, vieulx cocodrille,
ta substance puant et ville
ne mourra pas si doucement >>:
1. 26383 - 1. 26387

<<Couvin maudit, gendre infernal,
monstres divers, substances villes,
ors serpens, hideux cocodrilles,
vieulz aspics, horribles dragons >>:
1. 28894 - 1. 28897

« Or ça, progénie mauldite,
serpens interditz et dampnés,
horribles monstres forcenés,
catherve d'envie imprimée
vous ne m'avez point imprimée
la manière de vostre cas »:

1. 33424 - 1. 33429

Often, this ranting is set off by contrast with a brief,
laconic final line or response:

« ... je l'ay tant hutiné (sought quarrels
with),

tant poursuy, tant espie,
tant regardé, tant costoié ("dogged")!
Mes mon fait n'y vault une nois »:

Greban 1. 10497 - 1. 10500

(Michel 1. 2256 - 1. 2259)

« je vois, je tourne, je tempeste,
je me romps le groing et la teste
et si ne fais chose qui vaille »:

1. 17330 - 1. 17332

(Michel 1. 17221 - 1. 17223)

« LUCIFER

Deables obscurs et tenebreux,
tourbe despiteuse et villaine,
qui est ce qui tel joye maine
en nostre chartre horrible et noire?

BERICH

C'est le gendre humain ... »:

1. 23270 - 1. 23274

(Michel 1. 25493 - 1. 25497)

« Dragon pourry, puante beste,
serpent hideux, vieulx cocodrille,
ta substance puant et ville
ne mourra pas si doucement:
vien tost »:

1. 26383 - 1. 26387

Enumeration was a common technique elsewhere in the
Passions, particularly in scenes involving popular types of
human. The closest parallel is in the lists of actual devils'
names called out by the suicidal:

Arras:«

HERODE

Sathan, Astaroth, Belzebus,
Belial avec Cerberus,

Torquet, Zabulon, Aggrapart »: 1. 5459 - 1. 5461

<<

JUDAS

Ou est Sathan, ou est Cerbere,
 Que ne me viennent ycy querre?
 Ou est Belzebus, Nacharon? >>:

1. 13078 -
 1. 13080

Michel:<<JUDAS

Lucifer, envoye sans demeure
 ton maling adherant Sathan
 et, pour faire la chose seure,
 l'orgueilleux chien Leviathan,
 Belphegor aussi, plain d'envie,
 Cachodemon, Baal, Astaroth,
 Belberith plain de glotonnie,
 Zabulon, Hur et Behemot,
 Belial, Galast et Moloost
 et le ribault Asmodeust,
 car Mamonna payra l'escot (tax),
 avec l'enragé Belzebuth.
 Et encore, pour mieulx aller,
 se je n'ay assez de ceulx la,
 j'appelle les dyables de l'air,
 dyablesses et tant qu'il y a,
 Lares, Lemeures et Mana,
 Emythees, Manes et Manyes,
 Lerues, Triptes et Mantua
 avecques les Intemperies >>:

1. 23619 -
 1. 23638

In Michel, the possessed Canaanite Girl also calls to the
 devils (1. 8173 - 1. 8176). Greban lists bourreaux and Jews:

<< faictes saillir soudars pietons,
 atout arcs, atout viretons,
 gens de commun et bons hommes,
 varlez, souillions, gardechevaux,
 bedeaux, garsons et coquinaille >>:

1. 18564 -
 1. 18568

<< Mes gens demeurent ilz derriere?
 Malcus, Estonné et Bruyant!
 Dragon, Gueulu et Malcuidant!
 ou sont ja ces ribaulz meschans? >>:

1. 18603 -
 1. 18606

<< Bananias et vous, Nathan,
 Mardocee et vous, Joathan,
 Jheroboan et vous, Nachor,
 vous irez avec eulx encor >>: 1. 18618 -
 1. 18621

This is seen also in Michel:

<<

BARRAQUIN

Chevaliers!

GRIFON

Voyre, en tout oultraige!

BARRAQUIN

Compagnons!

CLAQUEDENT

En toute malice!

BARRAQUIN

Sergeans!

BRAYART

Pour bien faire l'office!

BARRAQUIN

Ministres!

ORILLART

Voyre, du grand dyable!

BARRAQUIN

Serviteurs!

GRIFON

Pour ung cas pendable!

BARRAQUIN

Satalites!

CLAQUEDENT

Mais vrays belistres (wastrels)!

BARRAQUIN

Bourreaux!

BRAYARTVela nos propres tiltres
et a tous applicquans de sorte

1. 23336 - 1. 23343 >>

Like devils, bourreaux can gloat over their weapons and other equipment:

Michel: <<DENTART

J'ay mon armeure.

GADIFFERJ'ay ma salade,
harnoys de jambes, gaillardés (arm-guards).DRAGON

J'ay avantbras (forearm-guards) et gantellés
(gauntlets),
chergey plastrum et baniere.

BRUYART

Je suys bien armé par derriere,
j'ay bon haubert, bons gans de fer,
assés pour le dyable d'enfer
ou pour gaingner tout ung royaulme

}}:
1. 18651 - 1. 18658

In the Passion d'Arras, there occurs at one point a long list of types of wine - possibly inspired by the tradition of tavern-boys' cries in the secular Arras plays (Courtois d'Arras, Jeu de la Feuillée, and so on):

<< J'ay bon vin blanc et bon vermeil,
Vin de Poitou et vin françois,
Et j'ay bon vin sarrazinois,
Vin de Rin et vin de Gascongne
Vin d'Orlians, vin de Bourgongne,
J'ay tres bon vin de Romenie
D'Allemaigne et de Lombardie
Vin bastart et bon Mouscadet
Qu'on doit boire a petit godet,
Et s'ay tres bon vin d'Angleterre
Qui a crut en roche de terre
Tout hault en cruppe de montaigne,
Et s'ay aussi bon vin d'Espaigne
Tel qu'il fault a ung bon friant
Qui fait aler gens cancellant (staggering)
Aussi tost qu'on en a gousté,
Et s'ay en mon celier boutte
Vin de Lieppe et vin d'Auxerre
Qui est tant bel a boirre a verre

}}:
1. 23173 - 1. 23191

Even the blacksmith who forges the nails for the Cross reels off a list of his wares:

<< Se voleez gravet ou tripier,
Gril, cramellie (pot-hanger) ou escumoir,
Baciere (pot) de fer ou lardoir,
Ance a pot ou fourquette a feu

}}:
1. 15463 - 1. 15466

The latter case is probably an extension of an already established tradition that the Apothecary or the Mercer who sell the ointments and the shroud to the three Maries should first reel off their entire stock (Palatinus 1. 1864 - 1. 1891,

Sainte-Geneviève l. 3407 - l. 3439, l. 4160 - l. 4200, Greban l. 28405 - l. 28406); however, despite the seriousness of the context, the Apothecary and the Mercer are sometimes being somewhat satirised for hard-headedness, the lack of Christian charity, and thus are not so far removed from more overtly bad types such as we have more often compared with the devils.

Thus, on the whole, the use of sustained enumeration of names or other items does link the devils with other, human, low characters. Its main purpose seems to have been to catch attention, as at the beginning of a scene (like the "summons"), or to amuse, as with Greban's exaggerated rantings and strings of insults. Nonetheless, enumeration could have serious overtones, especially in its earliest forms, the sinner-list and the summons of devils by name. Sinner-lists in the drama parallel sinner-lists in other literature and indeed in non-written art (see Chapter II, pp. 110 - 111), and were at that level didactic. Lists of devils' names suggest, without actually being, black magic incantations or the conjuring of supposedly real demons - the only hint of forbidden ritual that seems to have penetrated stage diableries apart from the use of strange but invented language as in the Miracle de Théophile l. 160 - l. 168 (7). No Passion actually uses entirely made-up language, but there is a connection between the devil and confusing or silly speech.

(x) "Gobbledygook"

There is one example in Greban of what seems to be meant as deliberately involved wording:

<<

LUCIFER

Je suis joyeux quand je les vois
 combles en brigade si belle,
 voire de joye telle quelle,
 joye par courroux desconfite (wrecked),
 meslee de rage confite (consummate)
 tant qu'esperist en peust charger.

SATHAN

Sus, sus, pensez de degorger
 de vostre gosier mal appris
 ces beaux propos qu'avez empris (begun),
 s'il est riens qui nous puist valoir >>:

l. 3812 - l. 3821

At the first hearing - and in performance there would be no other - Lucifer's meaning might not be easily picked up, as Satan himself seems to confirm. Here the aim is apparently merely to amuse; a parallel of a sort might exist in Auvergne A, where at one point a sort of "fool" is introduced, who, just to be funny, speaks in the local patois instead of in French: « Seignhé, mon seignhé, yo soy folle,/ comme vous poudés bé cognoistre,/ car yo me soy venguda mectre/ yo mesme en aquestas cordas (Lords, my lords, I am mad,/ as you can see perfectly well,/ for I have come and put myself/ of my own accord in these nets) » (l. 1407 - l. 1410). A more serious case, however, is the use of silly language by those possessed by the devil, such as the Ganaanite Girl:

Greban: « Meslez du dragant avec rage,
pour scavoir s'il est dur ou sur ...
Ostez les fondemens du mur,
que le plancher ne viengne en bas ... »:
1. 12267 - 1. 12270

Michel: « Meslés metridat et fromage
et portés tout a la cuysine
pour faire saulse cameline
a mettre dessus ces cafars.
J'ay veu voller quatre regnars
avecques troys cornilles bures (dark)
qui alloyent a leurs adventures
tout droit au royaulme d'Egipte
pour confesser ung viel hermite
qui ne vouloit menger de paille »:
1. 8203 - 1. 8212

Obviously, this silliness is meant to be coming from the devil, and it ceases with his expulsion. "Disorder" is, in fact, the keynote of all the devils' behaviour and much of the language that we have seen so far, which it is now time to attempt to sum up.

As far as language alone is concerned, we have made two principal observations about the Passion play diableries. Firstly, that in most respects - the structural use of metre, the exploitation of colourful terms of address, oaths, dismissals, exclamations, colloquial idiom and comparisons, Latin and dog-Latin, word-invention and adaptation, enumeration and finally

"gobbledygook" - the devils' language is quite exactly parallel to either the informal, racy and often comic language of popular scenes with bourreaux, servants, shepherds and other rustics or else the intentionally pompous, involved language of scenes with villains of rank such as the Pharisees, Herod and Pilate. Conversely, it is in contrast to the more delicate, moving and respectful language used by good and divine characters such as Jesus, the Apostles, God and the angels. The second general observation has been that on the whole an extensive development of colourful language - what might be termed "verbal embroidery" on a particular theme, for instance terms of address or dismissals - appears most marked in the diableries of the wordier Passions, Arras, Greban above all and Michel. This verbal virtuosity is not always meant as merely amusing, for much of it draws on images of monstrosity or violence or mentions actual traditional torments of Hell, and as such it all helps to build up an impression of the devils as deformed fiends and of Hell as a place of fire, noise, stench and so on, just as the more serious action of the diableries does. This basic seriousness underlies the parallels with the language of other villains, on the basis that any sort of vulgarity or pompousness, anything that might be deemed to distort and sully purity of communication, represents a similar falling away from grace. Hence the link between the devils and illogical language, the loss of all sense, the ultimate degeneration.

Study of the devils' language has thus filled out the similar impressions gained from their routines of behaviour. Yet at the same time it has brought into sharper focus the fact that some of the humour of the diableries - such as the running joke about the devils' being "lawyers" which accounted for a good part of the dog-Latin - cannot be convincingly entirely explained at the level of parallel/contrast with other scenes in the Passions, because at the point where it is most developed in any of our Passions, that is, in Greban, just after Lucifer has called all the devils together at the start of the first Journée, it seems to be mere "horseplay", other

versions of which are having an ordinary disgruntled conference about whether to answer Lucifer (in Arras l. 1132 - l. 1139), or having Satan elaborately pull on some boots (in the fourth Journée of Greban). In fact, Satan himself says of this latter instance «ce ne fait rien au propos» (l. 28918) and demands that Lucifer come to the serious point.

Moshé Lazar, it will be remembered - see Chapter I, p. 6 - has suggested that medieval stage devils indulged in much totally unscripted, unrecorded horseplay. If true, what we have seen here might be just the tip of an iceberg. How valid, then, is Moshé Lazar's theory?

Moshé Lazar sees the devils as belonging to a category of medieval «types comiques, dont l'existence verbale est secondaire à leur présence scénique» (8) - characters who are more seen than heard, at least in words. As such, their repertoire would consist of «les trucs et les gags, les bons mots et les gros mots, l'emploi de l'exagération et de la caricature, la prolifération de mots et d'objets, les acrobaties et les gestes de terreur, la gloutonnerie et les coups, les vantardises et les bravades à vide, etc.» (9) - verbal and non-verbal quips and japes of all kinds, which Lazar would connect directly with a survival of antique comedy (10).

Moshé Lazar goes on to a bird's-eye survey of diableries in medieval French drama. Most of what he notes we have already described and confirmed for the Passion plays: the existence of a series of traditional scenes (Chapter I), the spectacular representation of Hell, the devils' grotesque physique, their hierarchy and organisation (Chapter II), their function as "clerks" and "scribes" (Chapter III and above), their propensity for disguise (Chapter II), and, for the most part, their links with the characters whom Lazar terms the «hommes diaboliques» (11) - in Passions, this would mean the Pharisees, Herod, Pilate and their bourreaux - in the form of wild gesticulations, shoutings, cursings and violence (Chapter III and above), their names (Chapter II), the contrast of Lucifer on his throne with God (Chapter II), and the use of verbal devices such as grotesquely insulting vocabulary and a roll-call of the lesser devils (the same thing as our

"summons"), puns, enumerations, oaths, invented words, "gobbledygook", parody of religious language, obscenity and scatology, irony and sarcasm, cursing dismissals accompanied by a gesture from Lucifer, grotesque "dancing" and raucous singing (Chapter III and above). Lazar does, however, raise one or two points that apply to Passion plays which we have not so far had occasion to mention or discuss fully.

The first is the devils' link with the miles gloriosus or "boastful soldier" type, which is connected mainly, in Passion plays, with the Harrowing of Hell episode. In Greban, it is actually first seen before the Temptation of Eve, when Satan boasts (albeit justifiably) of forthcoming success (l. 679 - l. 682). Later this is less well founded; but the devils' boasts, and subsequent dismay, at the Harrowing resemble the antics of the human Guards of Jesus's Tomb, for example:

« [LI PREMIERS CHEVALIERS]
 Se nus vient des larrons provez,
 Gardez que vous ne les espargniez,
 Mes des espees les trenchies
 En tel maniere qu'il i pere (may
 show).

[LI SECONZ CHEVALIERS]
 Il dit bien, par l'ame mon pere.

[LI TIERS CHEVALIERS]
 Par Mahon, se je truis saint Po,
 Je li estuierai (reserve) tel cop,
 Qui en soit la parte ne li gaaing
Palatinus l. 1683 - l. 1690

« [SATHANAS]
 Je ferai a Jhesucrist la moe,
 Se je seans venir le voy,
 Tant li jeterai fiens et boue
 Que je le ferai tenir quoy »:
Palatinus l. 1350 - l. 1353,
 compare l. 1283 - l. 1287,
 l. 1308 - l. 1311, l. 1381 -
 l. 1384

« SATHAN
 S'il vient je vous certifie
 Que de ce gravet jusqu'au fie
 (liver)
 En sa pance le bouteray »:
Arras l. 20602 - l. 20604,
 compare l. 20545 - l. 20582,
 l. 20681 - l. 20898

« CERBERUS
 Laissez le venir: s'il entre
 ens,
 je veil qu'on m'arde le
 museau.

<<

FERGALUS

Tout y est barré bien et beau:
comment donc y enteroit il?

ASTAROTH

Ou il sera trop plus soubtil
que nous deables tretous ensemble,
ou, par mon crochet, il me samble
qu'il y demourra s'il y vient >>:
Greban l. 24516 - l. 24523, compare
l. 23334 - l. 23339, l. 26236 -
l. 26255 and Michel l. 13942 -
l. 13945, l. 25563 - l. 25568,
l. 27090 - l. 27097, l. 28672 -
l. 28675

<<

LE PREMIER CHEVALIER

Or sus, compains, or sus, or
sus!

Je croy que le corps est
perdus.

Une voix j'a oyé ici,
Qui disoit: «Lyève toy d'ici.»
Beaulx compains, nous susmes
trop jeu,

Quar j'ay bien la voix
entenduz,

Et puis j'ay veu sy grant
clerter venir

Que il n'est homme que s'en
peut souvenir.

Quar parlé je n'a peut, ne
randre mon soppit

Jusque j'a veuz la clerter
departir.

[...]

LE TIER CHEVALIER

...

Or tost, compains, fuons,
fuons! >>:

Hiard l. 1914 - l. 1947

<<

ANFERNUS

Diabes, pour quelle mesprison
(outrage)

Esse que le Ladre ce part?

...

Quil est ceste voix cy tresfort
Quil l'amainne par son effort? >>:
Semur l. 5208 - l. 5216 (after the
Raising of Lazarus)

<<

SATHAN

Quil oncques vit tel esperit
Sy cler, sy noble, sy puissant,
Car tout luy est obeïssant?
Quil oncques vit ame sy fort
Qu'il a brisé par son effort
Malgré nous tous, d'enfert la porte,

...

Quil est ce quil tant peut resluire?
Quil est ce prince coronné
Quil est d'anges environné?
Quant je le voy, le cueur me tranble >>:
Semur l. 8701 - l. 8716 (after the
Harrowing of Hell)

<<

BELZEBUTH

il est venu tout maintenant
une voix haultement tonnante,
tant terrible et espouvantable
qu'en tout nostre enffer n'y a deable
qui de paour ne se soit mussé (did
not hide himself),

laquelle a haultement huché:

Lazaron, vien acop dehors ! >>:

Greban l. 15105 - l. 15111 (after the
Raising of Lazarus); likewise,

serious interventions in the main plot (from a rejected temptation, a failed soul-claiming, the Harrowing of Hell, or the like) or else from a wish of the author to compare or contrast the devils' behaviour didactically with, respectively, human grotesques both lowly and mighty or else with good and divine characters. Both types of comic embellishment may be seen as compatible with the serious role because what is this, at root, but opposition to godliness at every level, active and passive, dramatic and didactic, spiritual and physical, verbal and visual? In fact, comedy at this level might even be seen as actively contributing to the Passion plays' presentation of the fiends, bringing out not so much (as the serious role does) the evil that they do in the universe, but rather the essential degeneracy of what they are. Laughter can be a form of scorn, and ridicule a means of rejection, as it may be in this case, and so it would not cancel out the effect of more serious methods.

Certainly it is remarkable that the Passion de Michel, which, as seen in Chapter I (see pp. 90 - 91), emphasises more than most other Passions the didactic side of the devils' role, should also develop further their comic disarray when crushed by Jesus. New text is added to Greban's before the Temptation of Jesus to show that Satan is on the verge of giving up before he has even started:

Si Dieu doncques a dessus tous
 tant preservé cestuy Jhesus
 que avoir n'en povons le dessus,
 pour quoy me veulx tu cy contraindre
 de peché, malgré luy, l'ataindre:
 tu sces bien qu'il est impossible (1. 2324 - 1. 2329)

Forced to go on with the Temptation, Satan very nearly loses his nerve again after the very first attempt:

Hau, Lucifer, que doy je faire?
 Le grand dyable y puisse avoir part
 et a Jhesus et a son art
 tant il scet d'hebrieu et latin!
 Je ne scauroye soir ou matin
 avoir sur luy quelque avantaige (1. 2849 - 1. 2854)

Finally, as Satan runs away from the confrontation, he cries

not merely, as in Greban l. 10679, «je suis plus vaincu qu'un viel chien», but the stronger «je suis vaincu, je ne puis riens» (l. 3081) - an admission of complete helplessness.

Likewise, when Astaroth is exorcised from the Canaanite Girl, he is made to cry as he emerges, where the devil was silent in Greban:

car, malgré moy, me fault vuider
et estre mis hors de mon estre
par Jhesus qui est nostre maistre
pour tous nous confondre a la fin (l. 8373 - l. 8376)

Furthermore, Astaroth gets a beating up back in Hell (l. 8447 - l. 8458) that his counterpart in Greban, Fergalus, does not suffer. Such are examples of a humour springing from the serious role and complementing it, permitting the audience to relax without losing sight of the serious point of an episode. Perhaps one motive for it was to increase the "box office appeal" of the play; there are records that the receipts fell during the middle Journées of at least one play (not a Passion) possibly because it was proving tedious (13).

Certainly, it is true that it seems to be the wordiest Passions that use the most humour in their diableries - Arras, Greban and (though less grotesquely) Michel. It is Arras and Greban that are the ones which contain humour not springing directly from problems with the devils' serious work: delays during summonses, verbal displays of insults and so on, the lawyer joke. In the brisker plays - Palatinus, Sainte-Geneviève, Semur, and the Montferrand play - humour takes the form only of quarrels and beatings and verbal display is much more modest in scope. This tends to be true also of non-Passion plays, as a brief comparison will show.

In short, or fairly short, plays of both early and late date (for example, the Jeu d'Adam, the Miracle de Théophile, the Mystère de Saint Christofle and some of the Miracles de Nostre Dame (14), such as the Miracle de l'enfant donné au diable), the devil's lighter side consists of frantic consultations during a flagging temptation (Jeu d'Adam l. 391 -

l. 393), his annoyance at being painfully conjured up (Miracle de Théophile l. 169 - l. 171, l. 200 - l. 203), and especially his anger and perhaps also fear of Lucifer's wrath when he is defeated (Mystère de Saint Christofle l. 143 - l. 151, Miracle de l'enfant donné au diable l. 1376 - l. 1389). All of these cases are of humour arising directly out of the devil's serious role.

In some of the more verbose and ambitious plays, however, such as the fifteenth century Mystère de Saint Sébastien, Mystère du Roy Advenir, Mystère de Saint Martin (15), Mystère de Saint Quentin (16), we find added to this direct kind of humour an amount of "horseplay" which is not rooted directly in serious business. Examples are childish squabbling amongst the devils, sneaking to Lucifer about each other's failures (Mystère de Saint Sébastien l. 5566 - l. 5591, Mystère du Roy Advenir l. 13902 - l. 13933), stealing souls from each other to present to Lucifer (Mystère du Roy Advenir l. 1333 - l. 1358), insisting on each being given equally important tasks to do (Mystère du Roy Advenir l. 3202 - l. 3255), a grotesque childbirth by the devils' "mother" Proserpine (Mystère du Roy Advenir l. 14772 - l. 14789), or indulging in sustained verbal displays:

Dyables courans, diables cornus,
 Diables sallans (jumping?), diables sornus (?),
 Diables tonduz, diables toudis (always),
 Diables toussus (coughed up?), diables maudis,
 Diables farcis, diables senglos (?),
 Diables, diablesses et diablos,
 Dyaboliques poulleries,
 Sallés hors de vos diableries,
 Diables, plus tost que vent subtil

Mystère de Saint Quentin l. 918 - l. 926

LUCIFFER

Deables, deables des infernaulx palus (marshes),
 Que faictes vous es lymbes Tantalus?
 Miserables filz de putains paillars,
 Trop vous endort l'ort Sardinapalus
 Et le loudier pugnais Agriffallus
 Vous amyelle (seduces) par ses engins (tricks) gaillars.
 Venez avant, coquineaux ("rascals"), babillars,
 Cornars, coquars, loricars, coquillars,
 Monstrez moy tous voz figures acreuses (odious),
 Vilz, vielz, rocars (soldiers on half-pay?), meurtriers,
 larrons, pillars,

Droncars (drunkards), canars, regnardiers (fox-hunters?),
gangrillars (?),

Sortez dehors des lymbes tenebreuses!

SATHAN

Roy rigoureux, racyne ruÿneuse,
Roche restive, rodelle (round head?) rumyneuse,
Rouge ribault, reprouvable raillart (scoffer?),
Rachat (?) recteur, rude roce (roach?) rogneuse (scabby?),
Rogue rongeur, riche ronce raffleuse,
Ravissant ris (?), rural retatynart (shrivelled?),
Reprehensible, renfrogné regrongnart (?),
Raby rebelle, redoubtable regnart (?),
Rustic regnant (overlord), rampant, rafflant, rifflant,
Radis rayee, roc, robuste roillart (barrel?),
Regent retrou (shrunken?), ront, rapineux, rocart,
A quoy, grant deable, vas tu ainsi ronfflant?

Mystère de Saint Martin l. 4999 - l. 5022

Yet it was not inevitable that later plays should contain more, and more grotesque, diableries; in fact, in the final few Gange Miracles de Nostre Dame, there are no diableries at all.

Nevertheless, this comparison does suggest that humour in diableries in both Passion and non-Passion plays moves away from direct contact with the serious role of the devil only in very long and slow-moving texts, presumably because the serious role was felt to be in these cases unable to provide enough opportunities to make a fool of the devil. Yet at the same time it is clear that much depended on the particular approach taken by each author - although Michel is much slower than Greban, yet it is in Greban that "horseplay" is commoner in diableries. The study of the language especially has brought out that A. Greban's approach to his subject is far more visual than J. Michel's, giving far more emphasis to the physical grotesqueness of the devils' appearance and of Hell (see pp. 223 - 224 above), and, presumably, his devils' knockabout antics are part of this vein. That this is also present to a lesser extent in Arras, which probably contributed directly or indirectly to Greban (see Chapter I), suggests that a knockabout, somewhat physical rather than spiritual approach to the devils may have been an established tradition in western French Passions of the first half of the fifteenth century. However there is no reason to think that it was the overall norm: it is rare in texts likely to pre-date

Arras (fourteenth century ones and Semur), nor is it standard in plays later than Greban, such as not only Michel but also the Montferrand play. That Michel was printed, and possibly composed with this in mind, may account for its less physical, less visual, emphasis. Since the Montferrand tradition seems to have developed independently of the Arras-Greban type of Passion (see Chapter I), it could be that horseplay in devil-scenes was never a part of this tradition. Or it may be even that as the fifteenth century advanced there was less public taste for gross knockabout fun anyway; Owst believed that a taste for this was characteristic of, if not strictly exclusive to, the Middle Ages which were by then coming to an end, talking of the "youthful impishness of the Middle Ages" (17). However, it is true that the behaviour of the bourreaux during the Crucifixion in Auvergne B is vulgar in the extreme: they bare their buttocks to Jesus on the Cross (l. 2921 - l. 2925), so that a taste for coarseness was not clearly not dead, even if it is diminished in the diableries of this particular text. Thus it is not really possible to say definitely whether, as far as the devil is concerned, more or less superfluous horseplay might have been more a feature of the Passions (and other plays too perhaps) of some areas rather than others. What it does appear reasonable to say is that there is no evidence for any place or time that devils' horseplay was ever really widespread; a large quantity of it was the hallmark, it would seem, of the actual "fool" himself.

So far as we can tell, "fools" were rare in early and middle period French Passions. Only Semur has one, in the guise of "Rusticus", and even he starts out as Canaan, the banished son of Noah, so that he is slightly attached to the main plot. Otherwise, a fool is found only in some of the late, very verbose, remaniements of Greban and Michel, for instance in the Passion de Troyes of 1490. Here, in the margin of the manuscript and in a different hand to the main text, a fool's role has been written in; however in a manuscript of a Mystère de Saint Sébastien it is merely noted at intervals that "the fool speaks", so that apparently he was meant to ad-lib (18). This fool is completely detached from the main

action, but there is another example from a non-Passion play, the Chantilly Nativity, of a slightly integrated fool, who is nominally Herod's court jester (19). Overall, however, the fool stood quite apart from the rest of the play, his jokes and pranks having at best only a chance connection with it. This is quite distinct from the semi-stereotyped humour provided by the devils, and, for that matter, by all the other human, wicked characters, which exists not only for its own sake but also to symbolise degeneracy of both body and spirit.

This is not to say, though, that the devils and the human "grotesques" are exactly equivalent. Only the devils combine within a single group bombast and vulgarity; otherwise these are split apart, bombast going to Pharisees, Herod, Pilate and soldats fanfarons, vulgarity to servants, bourreaux, rustics and suchlike. Thus the devils are a mixture of diverse tendencies; some have said, of conflicting tendencies. For critics reared to admire the ideal of the "unities" of the Neoclassical drama, the seeming disunity of the medieval stage devil has appeared simply incomprehensible. Thus Petit de Julleville's comment: «un personnage bien difficile à définir et même à comprendre» (see p. 1). To others, the devils have seemed to represent a kind of creeping profanity which lowers the tone of the whole play (see pp. 4 - 5 and p. 8). However we have seen that in point of fact there is neither any reason to condemn humour in diableries as merely frivolous, nor any reason to dissociate it from trends active throughout the entire plays in which those diableries occur. The truth is that intermingling of the sublime with the degenerate happens throughout the Passions especially, for what is their subject if not the enduring by perfection incarnate, the Son of God, of the very vilest suffering that the earth has to offer, the long drawn-out Trial and Crucifixion? That this torture is sometimes expressed with striking vulgarity appears from the instance just quoted from Auvergne B, l. 2921 - l. 2925, where the bourreaux bare their buttocks in the midst of the Crucifixion, in the presence of Our Lady, Saint John and all the usual mourners. Apparently, then, such a contrast was not

felt to be out of place by the hand that wrote it. It is also true that the French Passions at times even within their holy characters show a mingling of the sublime with a more "homely" or "domestic" tone, as for instance in the Baptism and Temptation, where after Jesus's Baptism God the Father reacts with, the editors have said, an "almost human paternal delight" (20), and where after His long fast in the Wilderness the Angels bring Jesus a supper prepared by His mother Mary (l. 305 - l. 306, l. 892 - l. 959). In short, the tone of the French Passions was never really, at any time, particularly "pure" in the sense of unmixedly spiritual, nor can this tendency be fairly represented as confined to the more markedly "profane" elements. The mixed tone is no more a special feature of any one part of the whole than of any other. It is hoped that in the foregoing pages sufficient evidence has been offered for the diableries to be included as a perfectly integral part of this whole.

CONCLUSION

We began this study with a review of past critics' assessments of the devil in the medieval French Passion plays and other mystères. Some alleged that the action of the diableries was largely, if not entirely, superfluous to their surroundings, that the image that they gave of Hell and the devils was simplistic and irreverent and that they involved an ever increasing amount of grotesque horseplay and vulgarity - that diableries were, in short, dramatically and morally unsound and existed only as more or less comic relief that was unworthy of their context. Only a few scholars questioned this view with much conviction, but, often, they had studied Passion plays.

In fact, the evidence assembled in the foregoing Chapters from the Passion play diableries proves beyond all reasonable doubt that the above judgements are, for them, ill-founded.

There follow brief accounts of the most important features noted in the diableries of each of our plays.

Palatinus and Biard

In these related texts there is in the text a single diablerie placed at the Harrowing of Hell, but in neither is it close to the sources of the plays, the Gospel of Nicodemus and the Passion des jongleurs. In Palatinus the details of the devils' quarrel and the ending of the scene are quite different from the sources, and in Biard the whole diablerie has been cut down drastically to its bare core, the devils' challenge to Christ at the gates. In the companion text to Biard, the Passion de Roman, even this is cut out, so that there are no devils in the text at all. There is no way of knowing today which of these versions is nearest to that of the lost original play apparently common to all three, nor when, if this was not the case in the original, the devils' part in the Harrowing in Autun was cut down during the time that elapsed between the play's probable emergence about 1300 and the copying out of Autun in 1471.

However another play of roughly the same period, the

Résurrection de Sainte-Geneviève (about 1350), also shows a marked divergence at the Harrowing of Hell in a diablerie: this time the scene involves no quarrel between the two devils - the same number as in Palatinus - but has instead a much calmer discussion influenced by scholastic theology with, at the end, resignation on the devils' part instead of anger as in the narrative sources. It is, therefore, possible that in the first half of the fourteenth century there was, for reasons that are unknowable today, considerable variability in the handling of the Harrowing of Hell diablerie, and that it is partly because of this that Palatinus and Autun vary from the sources and from each other; on this interpretation the curtailment of the devils' role in Autun could have occurred from the start, but this would not be any indication that the earlier original play was the same, of course (see pp. 40 - 43).

Apart from this question, the diablerie of Palatinus is noteworthy for its verbal verve. Insults (compare p. 185), colloquial expressions (see p. 210), an insulting comparison (p. 220) and a list of sinner-types (p. 237) combine to make its language much livelier than that of any other contemporary French Passion play, and indeed perhaps livelier than any before the Passion d'Arras (the date of Semur, which is duller than Palatinus, being uncertain).

Sainte-Geneviève

Like Palatinus and Biard, this text has only one diablerie in the script, at the Harrowing of Hell, but unlike them, it follows its source, probably some version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, closely (see p. 40), except for one detail. In Nicodemus, the two devils are called Infernus and Satan, but in Sainte-Geneviève Infernus is replaced by Beelzebub; in Nicodemus Beelzebub is mentioned, but his identity remains distinctly shadowy (compare p. 39). It seems probable that Sainte-Geneviève has substituted Beelzebub for Infernus because in Nicodemus Infernus was too grand a figure and too clearly Satan's superior to suit the approach apparently taken by the other contemporary Passion plays and the Résurrection

de Sainte-Geneviève, which is that there are two devils who are much more equal than they are apparently in Nicodemus. Grace Frank's choice of the name <<Enfers>> (= Infernus) for the second devil in her edition of Palatinus has, on these grounds, been questioned (pp. 143 - 144).

It is possible that in Palatinus, Autun and Sainte-Geneviève the devils might have mimed actions earlier in the plot than the Harrowing of Hell scene - for example, the claiming of Judas's soul (p. 59) and the visit to Pilate's Wife (pp. 36 - 40) - which do not emerge into actual script before Semur and Arras.

Semur

This, with Arras, is the first known French Passion play in which there occur multiple diableries at intervals throughout the whole plot (pp. 10 - 11). The most striking feature of Semur at this level is that it is not until the stage of Judas's betrayal of Jesus has been reached that the devils, by tempting Judas, direct their efforts principally towards trying to prevent the Harrowing of Hell, which they imagine can be accomplished by bringing about Jesus's death. However one of the devils later reverses this plan and tries to save Jesus at the last moment by visiting Pilate's Wife with a dream. Prior to this final stage of the Public Life of Jesus, though, Semur's devils' efforts bear rather on an all-time campaign of evil-doing and soul-claiming aimed against mankind in general, a campaign which is also resumed at once after the Harrowing of Hell. In other words, in Semur the diableries seem concerned less with explaining that it was the devils who brought about the Crucifixion (which was the main theme of the fourteenth century French Passion plays' Harrowing diableries) than with depicting the devils as eternal evil-doers and soul-claimers (pp. 78 - 90). This "instructive" function was probably reinforced by a quite elaborate set for Hell, of which the details were likely to have been based on what at the time were taken to be authentic accounts of the nature of Hell and of the devils (pp. 102 - 123). The number of devils in Semur is greater than before and they include Lucifer as the

chief, who remains in Hell directing lesser devils to act on his behalf on earth. Among these minor devils there is no principal agent, and indeed there is throughout the play a good deal of chopping and changing among the devils used, or at all events among their names. This reaches its most extreme manifestation in the occasional use of "Infernus" instead of Lucifer, and in the Harrowing diablerie where Satan is suddenly introduced for the first time. Study of the points where this "Infernus" and Satan appear tends to suggest that they are the result of the use of some version of Nicodemus/the Passion des jongleurs which could be the work of a different hand from that which wrote the rest of the devil-scenes; however this seems to be a question which should not be taken further without an examination of the whole text of Semur (pp. 145 - 146). In part because of the rather small lesser devils' roles which result from all this switching, which gives no opportunity for any one devil to become much developed individually, the overall tone of Semur's devil-scenes is rather more impersonal than is usual; in part, though, this may be deliberate, since some of the devils are merely, at least from their names, personified sins, or have labels rather than proper names (pp. 125 and 143). At the structural level, Semur's diableries are more complex than in earlier plays: as well as scripted soul-claimings which might replace earlier mime (p. 167), we find the verbal elaboration of the "summons" beginning to be introduced (see p. 155). Humour, though, is not a particular feature of Semur's diableries; perhaps the impersonality just mentioned is part of the reason, or it may be that the "fool" Rusticus who appears throughout Semur, and who is unique in this respect in a French Passion play, has, so to speak, "siphoned off" comic relief into his own series of scenes, leaving less need for it elsewhere (p. 258).

Arras

Like Semur, Arras has multiple diableries, but during the Public Life of Jesus the choice diverges: some details which

Semur treats by narrative attached to a later diablerie, Arras dramatises separately at the relevant point in the main plot, and vice versa (pp. 44, 49 - 50 and 54). This is strong evidence of mutual independence, as are several other differences which will be mentioned. Arras is similar to Semur, however, in that the main thrust of its devils' activities except for the latter part of Jesus's life is angled towards general instructiveness rather than towards explaining the devils' part in causing the Crucifixion (pp. 80 - 82), and also in that to some extent it seems to display a kind of half-way stage between dealing with all the devils' supposed doings in one go, by means of retrospective narrative for those that are in the past, at the Harrowing of Hell, as in the sources and the fourteenth century plays, and acting them out in separate scenes at intervals throughout the performance (pp. 43 - 44). Arras does have more diableries than Semur, but only in proportion to its greater overall fullness (pp. 46 - 47); however, two of them are structurally unrelated to the rest of the play (yet they are connected with the instructive function) and this is unique in a French Passion play (see p. 11, note 63). Internally, Arras's diableries are more complex than Semur's, for they add to previous "routines" the physical torture of a failed devil (p. 170), and this might indicate a slightly later date. Other divergences from Semur are the specialisation of Satan as Lucifer's chief agent on earth, who becomes a kind of anti-Redeemer who opposes Jesus personally at crucial moments in His mission (p. 147). As such, Satan is credited with masterminding the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, as the result of a period of non-communication with Lucifer, with whom Satan consults only when it is too late to retrieve the situation (pp. 95 - 96). Because this version of the devils' role against Jesus is somewhat more coherently set out than it is in Semur, where (partly because of the sudden appearance of Satan, see above) the effect is decidedly jerky, it could be interpreted to mean, again, that Arras is a little later in date (p. 95). Another distinctive feature of Arras's cast of devils is that one of the "superfluous" scenes brings in two child-devils, <<dyablots>>, which is, again, unique in a French

Passion play (p. 148). Perhaps the most notable feature of all in Arras is the development of verbal virtuosity in the diableries, with colourful terms of address, oaths, colloquial expressions, summonses and enumerations (Chapter IV). These are an important means of conveying didactic details of Hell and its torments, also of forging a link with the other bad characters in the play, but they also raise the amount of humour in the diableries.

Can we, on the basis of these features of the diableries of the Passion d'Arras, say whether or not this play could have been written by Eustache Mercadé, author of the Vengeance Jhesucrist of the Arras manuscript, and who died in 1440 (see Chapter I, notes 17 and 64)? Otto Geister, whose thesis is mentioned in note 17 above, gives the diableries of the Vengeance in full at the end of his work; study of these reveals, despite Geister's own opposite conclusion, striking similarities to the Passion's. For example, at a general level, the two sets of diableries show parallel ideas about souls and torture, with a predilection for the souls of usurers and witches (compare pp. 105 and 119), for boiling souls in cauldrons, ripping them out of victims' bellies and binding them up (compare pp. 104, 119, 132, 168). More particularly, the two sets of diableries contain similar vocabulary, for instance exclamations such as «Harau! le murdre» or «Or ça, de par le dyable, ça» occur in the Vengeance and are, as will be seen from p. 198 and pp. 207 - 208, like some found in the Passion. Most significant of all are the facts that as a term of address for devils, or an epithet for their victims, «crapaud» is used almost obsessively in the Vengeance; that the form «crapaudaille» occurs there twice; and that «dyablots» appear to blow on the fire under the cauldron, which is their job in the Passion also (p. 132). From p. 187 it will be seen that «crapaud» and especially «crapaudaille», an invented collective, are characteristic, as is the very presence of «dyablots» quite apart from their role, of the diableries of the Passion d'Arras as against other known French Passion play diableries. Despite some differences from the Passion - the Vengeance's diableries are much shorter, the devils'

names are not all identical, the vocabulary as a whole is much less varied - nevertheless taken together the facts mentioned do indicate quite strongly that Eustache Mercadé, in writing the diableries of the Vengeance, was using very much the same style as in the Passion, even down to quite fine points (compare E. Roy, who shows that some of the other minor characters in the two plays have identical names, a strong point (1)). Apparently, then, he must have known the text of the Passion very well, of which the likeliest explanation is surely that he himself wrote it. What is more, in the Passion, the Vengeance is predicted, somewhat unnecessarily, at a point where none of the other Passion plays alludes to it (p. 23), as if possibly the author already had it in mind to produce it as a sequel; but nonetheless, at the start of the Vengeance, no previous Passion is in fact mentioned. As for the divergences between the two sets of diableries, these are explicable by the smaller scale of the Vengeance, which we would expect to lead to brisker diableries because generally these are in proportion to the whole play (pp. 46 - 47); shorter diableries would in turn tend to yield less verbal display (p. 249 and below). As for the differences in some of the devils' names, it is not even unusual for the cast of devils to change, possibly from one day to another, within a single work (compare p. 149), so there is nothing at all surprising about their differing slightly between two distinct plays even from the same hand. Obviously the above is an argument with strict limits; but, even so, the signs are surely that Eustache Mercadé probably did write the Passion d'Arras as well as the Vengeance. If so, the Passion must logically pre-date his death in 1440 by long enough to allow for the Vengeance to have been written and produced as a sequel. Clearly there can be no precision here, but the date which Graham Runnalls has suggested on linguistic grounds, about 1420, seems as acceptable as any (2).

Greban and Michel

Greban, which dates from about 1450, is even more ample in scope than Arras. Probably for this reason, its diableries dispense altogether, unlike those of any other French Passion,

with the technique of inserting retrospective narrative description of events beyond the range of active performance into later episodes which do fall within its reach (pp. 44 - 45). Up to a point, this may be regarded as the culmination of a process begun in the fourteenth century texts and carried further, in their complementary ways, by Semur and Arras, of converting the narrative sources into dramatic form (p. 56). Certainly, the overall choice of diableries in Greban seems to be some sort of expansion of Arras's (pp. 55 - 57), and it is highly likely that Arras has, either directly, or, perhaps more probably, through now lost similar plays which existed between its time and A. Greban's, influenced the latter's work.

Another reason for cutting out the narrative technique, however, is that Greban's devil-plot is angled primarily not towards timeless instruction but towards the specific time- and place-related attempt by the devils to stop Jesus from harrowing Hell (pp. 83 - 86). Apart from this vital difference, though, the hierarchy of devils and the general treatment of Hell in Greban - Lucifer directing the devils from Hell with Satan as the chief agent on earth, and a probably quite complex set for Hell with "instructive" representation of supposedly real features - is very much as in Arras. The similarity of Satan's role is another strong link between Arras and Greban, though in Greban Satan is more carefully and consciously developed as the "anti-Redeemer" shadowing Jesus's footsteps throughout His life (pp. 55 - 56 and 147).

Another important feature that Greban shares with Arras is a large amount of elaborate ceremony and verbal display in the diableries - the summonses and especially the "dismissals" given as a devil is sent out on an errand, the torture of failed devils and of souls are even more prolonged, grotesque and accompanied by witty cursing "by the devil". However on a somewhat more serious level the devils in Greban have some long councils, and the terms Lucifer uses to address his inferiors seem consciously intended to create grotesque animal images of them (Chapter III and Chapter IV). Indeed, after their

concentration in the plot on the unrepeatable "historic" aspect of the devils' struggle against the Redeemer, this evocation of physical grotesqueness is the most striking feature of the diableries of Greban. As in Arras, this stratum of vulgarity and decay forms a link with evil types of characters elsewhere in the play (Chapters III and IV).

The Passion de Michel is a rather special remaniement of Greban as far as the diableries are concerned. This is for two reasons. Firstly, although there are yet more devil-scenes than in Greban, in accordance with Michel's even greater fullness (pp. 57 - 58), the thrust of their plot has been changed to give greater emphasis to the devils' struggle against the Redeemer's timeless pastoral rather than the unrepeatable historic mission. It is possible to look on this as a kind of return to the "universally instructive" approach to diableries that predominated in the early fifteenth century plays such as Semur and Arras, but this time more exclusively linked to the figure of Jesus as a holy example and teacher during His Public Life. However since the re-adjustment of the diableries really only reflects a change in the balance of the whole action, which in Michel is restricted to cover the Public Life alone, it is perhaps better to see Michel as looking forward rather than back, in that it recasts a doubtless long-established staple approach to diableries in the light of a dawning shift of emphasis in contemporary religious thought as a whole (pp. 90 - 91).

The other significant change found in Michel's diableries is a distinct lessening of the vein of physical grotesqueness in favour of stress instead on the devils' spiritual decay, seen especially in the wording of the dismissals and the terms of address (Chapter IV).

The Baptism and Temptation and the Passion d'Auvergne

In these fragments it is the same features as remarked in Michel that demand the most comment, that is, the primacy of the "instructive" approach over that linked to causing the historic

Passion in inspiring the plot of the diableries, and (in this case) the virtual absence of the grotesque displays, especially the verbal ones, that are seen in Arras and Greban.

In some ways these fragments show a treatment of devil-scenes reminiscent of Semur's, and quite distinct from that of Arras, Greban and Michel. Among the devils, Satan is less prominent, though not quite so obscure as in Semur (p. 147). So far as can be told, Satan did not participate in the re-enactment of the Passion in Auvergne, which was quite an important feature of his anti-Redeemer role in Arras, Greban and Michel, and thus there were, in proportion to the shorter overall length of the complete play, a smaller number of diableries (pp. 63 - 64). Also in keeping with the brisker pace, these diableries are, on the whole, less amply developed verbally than those of Arras, Greban and Michel. Metrically, however, they are more varied, especially in the Baptism and Temptation, this being true of the whole play, probably in response to changing fashions in contemporary poetry in general; the "dismissal" element, which used the triolet verse form, is more developed even than it was in Greban (p. 163). Absent, though, are the long-winded displays and elaborate witticisms (Chapter IV). Auvergne A and B, which seem to pre-date the Baptism and Temptation somewhat, are in fact in places, such as the Harrowing of Hell scene, almost so abrupt as to be jerkily explained, as was Semur (pp. 97 - 98). Partly owing to this generally sparer pace, the diableries of the Montferrand fragments seem less humorous than those of Arras, Greban and Michel. As in Semur, it might be significant that in Auvergne there appears at one point a patois-speaking kind of "fool", and that one of the bourreaux episodes is distinctly obscene, possibly reducing the urge to create light relief and vulgarity elsewhere (pp. 248 - 260).

The true direction of the development of the French Passion play diableries should have emerged clearly from these summaries.

Firstly, their serious content derived from the same sources as the content of the plays as a whole, generally from the Gospel of Nicodemus supplemented mainly by the Passion des jongleurs. Its overall lines varied but little, in that the devils were seen, or, in the beginning, heard to imply, that it was they who had ultimately engineered the Passion of Jesus through the agency of the Pharisees and of Judas, and so they who had unwittingly brought about their own defeat in the Harrowing of Hell and the loss of the past, present and future righteous human souls. There were, however, two distinct ways of looking at this conflict between devils and Redeemer: the "historic" and the "timeless", that is, a concentration either on the unrepeatable engineering of Jesus's Passion, or on the eternal struggle for possession of the souls of individual people in all eras and all places from Creation to Last Judgement. The fourteenth century short Passions, and the Passion de Greban of the fifteenth century, adopted primarily the "historic" treatment. However, the majority of fifteenth and sixteenth century Passions or Passion fragments - Semur, Arras and (so far as can be told) the Montferrand play - opted to give the upper hand to the "timeless" approach, and in Michel this gained ground as against the "historic" angle surviving from Greban.

It is in the light of the importance given, even to some extent in the "historic" diableries, to universal instruction about the "real" Hell and the "real" devils that the depiction of Hell and the devils in the French Passion plays seems to be most convincingly explained. By and large, this information is, by the criteria of the day, authentic enough, and its bias towards the material as opposed to the spiritual aspects does not distinguish it at all from much other contemporary literature and art about the subject, such as written accounts of Hell, carvings and miniatures and even some passages from sermons.

At the same time, however, there occurs in some of the plays' diableries a good deal of verbiage and even physical

horseplay which is not obviously part of this instruction: it is at its height in Arras, Greban and, though to a lesser extent, in Michel. These are the slowest-moving texts, which are inclined to be long-winded and pompous throughout during scenes with villains such as Herod, Pilate and the Pharisees, and long-windedly vulgar in scenes with "lower" bad types such as bourreaux. Much of the devils' own pompousness and horseplay seems, like that elsewhere in the plays, intended to mark them out by contrast to the good characters as creatures both physically and spiritually degenerate, literally decadent beings in terms of the choice between good and evil which articulates the action of the plays. Not all the French Passions develop this side of the devils so fully, however; Semur, which is probably earlier than Arras, and so earlier than Greban and Michel too, and the Montferrand fragments, which probably originated after Greban and at about the same time, in its surviving form, as Michel, have brisker, much less grotesque diableries. Also, there is less concentration on the figure of Satan, so that no devil is filled out as a real "character", as tends to happen with Satan, at least in Arras, Greban and Michel. For this reason, it is mistaken to suppose either that diableries grew ever more ample, or that they grew ever more grotesque and vulgar. It is also a mistake to suppose that even where there is quite a lot of grotesque material, this has no relevance to the serious instruction to the effect that the devils are degenerate.

It is evident that the Passion plays' conception and handling of the devils did have a unity of purpose at this level, but it is also true that there is material that does not fit in, that does appear to be only mere buffoonery. All that can be said, in the end, is that medieval people seem to have liked to include comic elements in the midst of the serious vernacular religious drama - sometimes even with an actual "fool" - and that sometimes the devils were pressed into service to provide this light relief. It is far rarer, however, than many past critics have implied to be left with a merely comic residue in these diableries; there is far more

of the foolery with a serious message behind it.

In order to understand the Passion play diableries it is thus necessary to re-examine the plays as a whole, and indeed the entire background of thinking behind them. This then brings out firstly that medieval people themselves had quite different ideas about what a mystère should do than many later critics trying to apply Neoclassical criteria about "well-made plays". This, however, involves far more than just attitudes to devils and to Hell, and so has not been much dwelt on here. More central is the second point which is brought out, that the diableries in their overall conception are no different from the rest of the plays in which they are embedded. They cannot reasonably be singled out for special censure on any count; the French Passion plays must be judged, for good or for ill, in all their parts, diableries on equal terms with the rest.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Introduction (pp. i - vi)

- 1 Die Teufel auf der mittelalterlichen Mysterienbühne Frankreichs, Leipzig, 1887
- 2 The Devil on the Medieval Stage in France, unpublished Ph.D thesis, Syracuse University, 1979
- 3 «Les diableries nécessaires» in Mélanges Jeanne Lods, Paris, 1978, pp. 225 - 268
- 4 Ed. Grace Frank, CFMA, Paris, 1921
- 5 Ed. Grace Frank, SATF, Paris, 1934
- 6 Ed. G.A. Runnalls, TLF, Genève, 1974
- 7 Ed. Emile Roy, in Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, Dijon, 1903/1904, reprinted Genève, 1974, pp. 3 - 189
- 8 Ed. J.-M. Richard, Arras, 1891, reprinted Genève, 1976
- 9 Ed. cit. of the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, p. 10
- 10 Ed. G. Paris and G. Raynaud, Paris, 1878
- 11 Ed. cit. of the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, p. 10
- 12 Ed. J. Elliott and G.A. Runnalls, New Haven and London, 1978
- 13 Ed. G.A. Runnalls, TLF, Genève, 1982
- 14 «Le Théâtre à Montferrand au Moyen Age», in Le Moyen Age nos 3 - 4 (1979), pp. 465 - 494; p. 484
- 15 Ibid., p. 485
- 16 Ibid., pp. 484 - 486
- 17 Ed. cit. of the Passion d'Auvergne, p. 41
- 18 Ed. Omer Jodogne, Gembloux, 1959

Chapter I (pp. 1 - 101)

- 1 Les Mystères, 2 vols, Paris, 1880; vol. 1, p. 271
- 2 Ibid., pp. 271 - 274
- 3 Ibid., p. 272

- 4 Ibid., pp. 272 - 273
- 5 Ibid., p. 278
- 6 Die Teufel auf der mittelalterlichen ^MMysterienbühne Frankreichs, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 28 - 32
- 7 Ibid., pp. 33 - 42
- 8 Ibid., p. 41
- 9 Ibid., p. 56
- 10 Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, Dijon 1903/1904, reprinted Genève, 1974, pp. 80*, 117*
- 11 Ibid., pp. 78* - 79*. Roy does not actually name diableries as such at Abel's, Adam's, John the Baptist's or Judas's death, nor after the Flood or the Raising of Lazarus, nor even at Pilate's Wife's Dream. Yet he does mention them, at least implicitly, at the Fall of the Angels, the Temptation of Jesus and the Harrowing, all "set pieces" (see p. 48), and also before Judas's betrayal of Jesus, which is not a set point for a diablerie. Thus there is apparently no overall logic in the way that Roy does or does not mention the presence of devil-scenes, unless it is simply whether they happen to have struck him as interesting or dull. Later in his discussion of Passions, he does betray a tendency to think of diableries as monotonous, as shown by the following references
- 12 Ibid., p. 117*
- 13 Ibid., p. 289
- 14 Ibid., p. 101*
- 15 « Sur quelques sources des Mystères français de la Passion », in Romania XXXV (1906), pp. 365 - 378; p. 373
- 16 Etudes critiques sur la tradition littéraire en France, Paris, 1909, pp. 93 - 126. Admittedly, in this essay, Wilmotte is considering only the comic element of the mystères, and so, it might be argued, only the comic side of the diableries; but there is nonetheless no indication that diableries might not in fact be largely comic (the quotation is from p. 120)
- 17 Die Teufelszenen in der Passion von Arras und der Vengeance Jhesucrist, Greifswald, 1914, p. 22. Some points about the overall validity of Geister's thesis may be found on pp. 266 - 267

- 18 La Mise en scène dans le Théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age, 2nd ed., Paris, 1926, pp. 182 - 183
- 19 Ibid., p. 183
- 20 Supernatural Beings in the Medieval French Dramas, trans. Annie Fausbøll, Copenhagen, 1923. For Marguerite Stadler-Honegger, in Etude sur les Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages, Paris, 1926, the devils personify temptation
- 21 Le Mystère des Actes des Apôtres, Paris, 1929, p. 159
- 22 Ibid., pp. 14 - 17: «Bien sûr ... nous laissons de côté les scènes en Paradis et les diableries» - apparently on the grounds that they make no positive contribution to the plot. Rather like Gustave Cohen above, Lebègue thinks that these diableries were probably recast from other mystères «que [l'auteur] avait sous la main» (p. 163), which is presumably meant to imply that their content is not specifically dovetailed to fit into the plot of the Actes des Apôtres
- 23 «Le diable dans l'ancien théâtre français», in Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises nos 3-4-5 (July 1953), pp. 97 - 105; p. 104
- 24 The Vision of Hell, Edinburgh and London, 1970, p. 226. Gustave Cohen agrees about the "materialism" of the stage, Hell: «L'Enfer est la traduction, en pierres et en toile, d'idees ... matérielles» (op. cit., p. 273)
- 25 Owen, op. cit., p. 230
- 26 Ibid., p. 235
- 27 Ibid., p. 236
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 232 - 233: "the episode in [Palatinus] ... must be assumed to have been substituted for the original by one of the remanieurs of [Palatinus]"
- 31 Ibid., p. 233
- 32 Ibid., p. 234
- 33 Ibid., p. 233
- 34 Ibid., p. 237
- 35 Ibid., p. 241

- 36 Ibid., p. 241: "the loss in spiritual value is immense"
- 37 Ibid., p. 242
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid., p. 243
- 40 Ibid., p. 242
- 41 Ibid., p. 243
- 42 «Les diables: serviteurs et bouffons», in Tréteaux I (1978), pp. 51 - 69; p. 51
- 43 Ibid., pp. 54 - 55
- 44 Ibid., p. 52
- 45 Ibid., pp. 51 - 52
- 46 Ibid., pp. 52 - 53
- 47 «Les diableries nécessaires», in Mélanges Jeanne Lods, Paris, 1978, pp. 225 - 268
- 48 Ibid., p. 253
- 49 Ibid., p. 263
- 50 The Devil on the Medieval Stage in France, unpublished Ph.D thesis, Syracuse University, 1979, p. 133
- 51 Ibid., p. 119
- 52 Ibid., p. 171
- 53 Ibid., p. 172
- 54 Ibid., p. 175
- 55 «La mesnie infernale dans la Passion d'Arnoul Greban», in Le Diable au Moyen Age, Paris, 1979, pp. 331 - 349; pp. 335 - 338
- 56 Ibid., p. 337
- 57 Ibid., p. 338
- 58 Ibid., p. 341. The same point is made by Paris and Raynaud in their edition of Greban (Paris, 1878); A. Greban has «une certaine discrétion, si on le compare à d'autres, et parfois il mêle à ses bouffonneries grimaçantes quelques accents plus sérieux et plus profonds» (p. xvii)
- 59 The Passion de Semur, ed. Lynette Muir, Leeds, 1981, pp. xv - xviii

- 60 Ibid., pp. xi - xii. Even given that this is a rather general plot analysis, the treatment of the diableries seems in need of explanation, for not one soul-claiming is mentioned, nor the reaction of Infernus to the Raising of Lazarus or the visit to Pilate's Wife; on the other hand, as well as the "set pieces" of the Fall of the Angels, the Temptation of Jesus and the Harrowing, Dr. Muir does mention a diablerie after the Flood and when the Jews begin to plot against Jesus. Perhaps only scenes set inside Hell are counted as diableries; certainly the later remark, "The numerous scenes of the devils in Hell, the so-called diableries" (p. xiii), tends to suggest this; yet the reaction of Infernus to the loss of Lazarus is surely set inside Hell. Perhaps only scenes with several devils are counted, for one or two other remarks make this feasible: "The use of regularly recurring characters ... is even extended to the devils. ... there is a whole hierarchy of Hell" (p. xvii) and "scenes involving a number of speakers, such as ... the diableries" (p. xviii). However it hardly seems fair to assume that only certain kinds of devil-scene should be counted and others not
- 61 Ibid., p. xiii. The only devil-scenes related to specific sources are the Fall of the Angels and the Harrowing, both to the Gospel of Nicodemus (p. xiii)
- 62 Ibid., p. xiii; they are said, without any evidence being offered, such as comparison with any other play, to "show considerable originality of treatment". Thus it is not made clear where adherence to tradition ends and originality begins, nor what effect this has on the structural place of the diableries
- 63 Adam is brought to Hell by "Mors Naturalis", not the same as the devil "Mors Inferni", so this is not quite a "normal" soul-claiming diablerie (see p. 167)
- 64 These two scenes are discussed on pp. 51, 70 - 71, 74 - 75
- 65 An interesting remark in relation to whether Eustache Mercadé might have written Arras; see pp. 266 - 267
- 66 Owen, op. cit., p. 7
- 67 The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1924, pp. 128 - 137
- 68 James's own hesitation; the Latin says literally "arguments"
- 69 Op. cit., p. 80*. Later (p. 117*), Roy cites as sources of (unspecified) diableries the Dialogues of Gregory the Great and the Vitae Patrum
- 70 Ibid., pp. 85* and 271
- 71 Ibid., p. 272
- 72 Art. cit., p. 256, note 19. Other possibilities are, for example, in addition to those mentioned above by E. Roy, the

- Legenda aurea of Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1255), the Speculum majus of Vincent de Beauvais (1264), the Summa theologica of Thomas Aquinas (1274) and the Postilles of Nicholas of Lyra (1349); compare the Baptism and Temptation of Christ, ed. Elliott and Runnalls, New Haven and London, 1978, p. 27
- 73 Art. cit., p. 257; also p. 256: «des scènes que les Passions restreintes traitaient déjà, mais sans aucunement faire appel à des interventions démoniaques ... sont désormais le lieu d'un développement infernal»
- 74 James, op. cit., p. 98
- 75 La Passion des jongleurs, ed. Anne Ferry, Paris, 1981, l. 1198 - l. 1253
- 76 See, for instance, the English edition, The Northern Passion, ed. F. Foster, EETS, London, 1916
- 77 See, for example, Trois versions rimées de l'Évangile de Nicodème, ed. G. Paris and A. Bos, SATF, Paris, 1885; L'Évangile de Nicodème. Les versions courtes en ancien français et en prose, ed. A. Ford, Genève, 1973
- 78 Grace Frank, in her edition of Palatinus, says (p. v) that «Plusieurs scènes du poème ont été adoptées presque mot à mot par les mystères [i.e. in this case Palatinus and Autun]»
- 79 Ibid., p. vi: «Plus du dixième des vers du mystère en sont tirés [i.e. from the Passion des jongleurs] presque intégralement et quantité de vers la rappellent de très près»
- 80 The Latin Passion Play, Albany, 1970, pp. 95 - 99. Sticca actually says (p. 99) that the "devil appears in person"
- 81 Ibid., pp. 153 - 156
- 82 Ed. cit., l. 2782 - l. 2787
- 83 Ed. cit. of Palatinus, p. 86
- 84 She says, pp. vi - vii, that «ceux ... qui ont façonné le mystère du Palatinus et la Passion d'Autun, [out of an older lost play] ont ... transposé des scènes, modifié des vers, éliminé et embelli». It is surely now impossible to say in either case how far this might have gone
- 85 Ed. cit. of Autun, p. 28
- 86 Ed. cit. of Palatinus, pp. iv - v

- 87 See Perry, op. cit., pp. 80 - 90 for a discussion of the whole issue
- 88 La Résurrection de Sainte-Geneviève, ed. A. Jubinal, in Mystères inédits du quinzième siècle, Paris, 1837, reprinted Genève, 1977, pp. 312 - 379
- 89 Ed. cit., pp. 336 - 337 (there being no line numbering in this edition). If one of the verbs in Belgibus's longer speech - «vendra» (17th line) - is in the future tense despite the fact that John the Baptist's life would be by now over, it is probably because some of these lines have very likely been transferred more or less en bloc, in one of several instances, from the Nativité of the same edition (pp. 1 - 78), from a point (p. 26) where they did refer to future time; apparently in this case the author/scribe forgot to change the tense
- 90 Ed. cit., pp. 76 - 81
- 91 Ed. cit. of Auvergne, p. 41; also G.A. Runnalls, «Le Théâtre à Montferrand au Moyen Age», in Le Moyen Age nos 3-4 (1979), pp. 465 - 494; pp. 486 - 487
- 92 Ed. Willem Noomen, CFMA, Paris, 1971
- 93 Ed. cit.
- 94 Ed. Jubinal, op. cit., pp. 79 - 138
- 95 What we have of Mons has been published by Gustave Cohen as Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et le Compte des Dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501, Strasbourg, 1925, which includes a sort of director's copy of the text, with detailed stage directions and the first and last few lines of each scene, many of which have evidently been taken from some version of Greban
- 96 The action of Valenciennes is analysed by E. Konigson in La représentation d'un Mystère de la Passion à Valenciennes en 1547, Paris, 1969, pp. 65 - 142
- 97 Ed. L. Mills, TLF, Genève, 1965
- 98 Ed. A. Meiller, TLF, Genève, 1970
- 99 Ed. A. Duplat, TLF, Genève, 1979
- 100 Ed. Emile Roy, Paris, 1902, reprinted Genève, 1976
- 101 Ed. Omer Jodogne, TLF, Genève, 1982
- 102 Ed. Grace Frank, 2nd ed., CFMA, Paris, 1975
- 103 Ed. Rothschild, 6 vols, SATF, Paris, 1878 - 1891

- 104 Ed. Paris and Robert, 8 vols, Paris, SATF, 1876 - 1893
- 105 Ed. Maurice Hussey, 2nd ed., London, 1975
- 106 From Esther Swenson, An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae, Minneapolis, 1914
- 107 Ed. the Rev. J.S. Purvis, London, 1957
- 108 Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages, New York, 1910, pp. 200 - 201
- 109 From A. Bossuat, «Une représentation du Mystère de la Passion à Montferrand en 1477», in Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance V (1944), pp. 327 - 345; p. 334
- 110 Ibid., pp. 338 and 342
- 111 Petit de Julleville, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 91
- 112 Ibid., p. 101
- 113 Ibid., p. 136
- 114 From E. Konigson, op. cit., p. 23
- 115 Art. cit., p. 255
- 116 Ibid., p. 264
- 117 Ibid, pp. 267 - 268
- 118 Ed. cit. of Greban, p. xvii
- 119 From G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1961, p. 512
- 120 Op. cit., p. 109
- 121 Ed. L. and M. Locey, TLF, Genève, 1976
- 122 Ed. G.A. Runnalls, Exeter, 1973
- 123 The diableries of the Vengeance are given by Otto Geister, op. cit., pp. 76 - 101
- 124 As described by R. Lebègue in Le Mystère des Actes des Apôtres, Paris, 1929, pp. 159 - 163
- 125 Ed. E. Roy, Paris, 1902, reprinted Genève, 1976
- 126 As quoted by Moshé Lazar, art. cit., p. 57
- 127 Ibid., p. 58

- 1 See G.A. Runnalls, ed. Le Mystère de la Passion Nostre Seigneur (= Sainte-Geneviève), TLF, Genève, 1974, p. 54, and E. Roy, Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, Dijon, 1903/1904, reprinted Genève, 1974, p. 220
- 2 The scribe has actually written «il ont trop grant lueur» (l. 845), but it seems likely that «pueur» is in fact meant, the scribe's eye having slipped down a line to «Il n'y ont clarte ne lueur» (l. 846). See the edition by G.A. Runnalls, note to l. 845 (p. 281)
- 3 «Ne vont pas au monstier (church) orer» (l. 869); the present tense in this line seems rather odd, but it is very unlikely that it is meant to be understood that the souls undergoing this particular torment "do not [now] go to church to pray"! Apparently what is meant is that they did not when they were alive go to church, although in every other case the sin that led to the torment is described definitely in the past tense, or else, if not, it is put in such a way as to become a timeless statement, as in l. 855 - l. 856: «Cil qui le bien pour le mal laissent/ En celle obscurte tuit abaissent»
- 4 From the summaries given by D.D.R. Owen in The Vision of Hell, Edinburgh and London, 1970, pp. 3 - 5, 22 - 24, 27 - 33 and 39 - 44
- 5 Arras's first Journée apparently began with a pious speech, including Latin Biblical quotations, by a «Prescheur»; the first part of this has been lost. The «Prescheur» re-appears to begin and end Journées, or else this done by another suitably holy character from the action itself. Thus, the first Journée is ended by the «Prescheur», the second is opened by John the Baptist, but not closed by anybody, the third day is both opened and closed by the «Prescheur», and he begins the fourth Journée, which is closed by Gabriel
- 6 G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1961, p. 522
- 7 Ibid., p. 523
- 8 Ibid., p. 524
- 9 Ibid., p. 395
- 10 Ibid., p. 518
- 11 Ibid., p. 519
- 12 Ibid., p. 521
- 13 Gustave Cohen, in La Mise en scène dans le Théâtre religieux français du Moyen Âge, 2nd ed., Paris, 1926, generally accepted Cailleau's set-up as reasonably authentic, but even so

- on p. xix he does admit that it must be, to some extent, a <<stylisation>> and <<simplification>>. E. Königson, in La représentation d'un Mystère de la Passion à Valenciennes en 1547, Paris, 1969, pp. 25 - 36, takes the same view
- 14 Le Cercle magique, Paris, 1973, pp. 113 - 136
 - 15 Histoire du Théâtre français, 15 vols, Paris, 1734 - 1749, reprinted Genève, 1967, vol. 1, p. 25. The origin of this idea of a three-storey stage seems to have been in a misinterpretation of remarks made in documents from Alençon about the building of a set for a mystère in 1520 - 1521; see Cohen, op. cit., p. xxi, and Rey-Flaud, op. cit., pp. 150 - 158, where the matter is particularly fully discussed
 - 16 Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages, New York, 1910, pp. 110 - 111
 - 17 Cohen, op. cit., p. 84
 - 18 Ed. A. Jubinal, in Mystères inédits du quinzième siècle, Paris, 1837, reprinted Genève, 1977, pp. 1 - 78; p. 20
 - 19 Cohen, op. cit., p. 85
 - 20 From A. Bossuat, <<Une représentation du Mystère de la Passion à Montferrand en 1477 >>, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance V (1944), pp. 327 - 345; p. 335
 - 21 Ibid., p. 337
 - 22 From G. Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et le Compte des Dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501, Strasbourg, 1925, p. 508
 - 23 Ibid., p. 511
 - 24 Ibid., p. 521
 - 25 From Bossuat, art. cit., p. 335
 - 26 Ibid., p. 336
 - 27 From Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., p. 530
 - 28 Cohen, La Mise en scène dans le Théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age, 2nd ed., Paris, 1926, p. 97
 - 29 Op. cit., p. 102: "the gates are bolted in the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève. This fact seems to preclude any idea of the jaws of a dragon"
 - 30 Cohen, La Mise en scène, etc., p. 94
 - 31 Rey-Flaud, op. cit., p. 151

- 32 Op. cit., p. 120
- 33 Op. cit., p. 199
- 34 Cohen, La Mise en scène, etc., p. 84
- 35 Ibid., p. 84
- 36 Ed. A. Duplat, TLF, Genève, 1979
- 37 E. Konigson, op. cit., p. 39
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., pp. 526, 498, 532, 491 and 505 respectively. "Shapes" such as the dragon's seem to have been carved out of wood (pp. 486, 491) and may have been covered with papier mâché; there are several entries in the accounts for quantities of paper and glue (pp. 481, 486, 491, 503, 506, 521, 534), and specifically for «XIII mains de gris papier à moler» (p. 492)
- 40 E. Konigson, op. cit., p. 39
- 41 Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., pp. 514 and 530 respectively
- 42 A. Bossuat, art. cit., p. 342
- 43 Ibid., p. 344
- 44 Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., p. 531
- 45 Ibid., pp. 498, 505, 511, 519, 528 respectively
- 46 Mimesis, trans. Willard Trask, New York, 1957, p. 138
- 47 European Drama of the Early Middle Ages, London, 1974, p. 116
- 48 G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1961, pp. 111 - 112
- 49 Ibid., p. 512
- 50 Ibid., p. 513
- 51 From Black's Bible Dictionary, 7th ed., London, 1962, pp. 6 - 7
- 52 Ibid., p. 53
- 53 From Murray's Illustrated Bible Dictionary, London, 1908, p. 79
- 54 From Black's Bible Dictionary, etc., p. 55
- 55 Ibid., p. 65

- 56 Ibid., p. 66
- 57 Ibid., p. 55
- 58 E. Male, L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France, Paris, 1931, p. 384: «La gueule d'Enfer est la gueule de Léviathan dont parle le livre de Job»
- 59 Black's Bible Dictionary, etc., p. 402
- 60 Ibid., p. 414
- 61 Ibid., p. 453
- 62 Ibid., pp. 647 - 648
- 63 From F. Vigoureux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, Paris, 1895, p. 1103
- 64 G.A. Runnalls, ed. cit. of Auvergne, p. 47: «Ce nom [Asmo] est probablement une contraction de Asmodeus»
- 65 La Mise en scène, etc., pp. 95 - 97
- 66 J. Collin de Plancy, Dictionnaire infernal, Paris, 1844, p. 84
- 67 Ibid., p. 108
- 68 Ibid., p. 538
- 69 Ibid., p. 364
- 70 Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., p. 561
- 71 From the Relation de l'ordre de la triomphante et magnifique monstre du Mystère des Saints Actes des Apôtres, Bourges, 1836, reprinted Geneve, 1975 - this being an original account of the «monstre» or full-costume parade of the participants in the play. The devils are said to have had «grandes aelles ... que dressaient et baissoient quant bon leur sembloit» and «leurs pattes se ouvroient et resserroient ainsi comme celles d'un paon», pp. 20 and 22 respectively
- 72 Rabelais, Quart Livre, Chapter 13, from Oeuvres complètes, ed. Jacques Boulenger, Paris, 1934
- 73 Op. cit., p. 99*, note 1
- 74 Owst, op. cit., p. 275
- 75 Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., p. 98
- 76 Wieck, Die Teufel auf der mittelalterlichen Mysterienbühne Frankreichs, Leipzig, 1887, p. 6, mentions that in no less than seven fourteenth century miracle plays there is a "First" and a "Second" devil, and in several other plays of early date the devil is not given a proper name

- 77 Ed. cit. of Palatinus, p. 86
- 78 Ibid., p. 87
- 79 Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., p. 507
- 80 Owen, op. cit., p. 242; the name Agrapart (see p. 153) is also known in the epics as a pagan's name (ibid.)
- 81 Op. cit., p. 40: «une machinerie devait permettre les voleries des diables, notamment sur la mer (située devant l'Enfer) et entre le Palais et l'Enfer, ce qui suppose des tringles ou des câbles tendus entre ces deux mansions»
- 82 Emile Roy's edition of Semur does not mention the word "parco" in this direction, though for the sake of general consistency the line references given are as in the Roy version; however the wording, with the interesting "parco", has been taken here from Lynette Muir's edition of Semur, (Leeds, 1981), in which the reference would be to l. 5341 - l. 5342. Of this word "parco" Dr. Muir herself says: "The phrase ... suggests either that the parc is quite near Hell and that the devils have to come out of Hell in order to be visible or that they appear from a variety of hiding places and make their way towards Hell, perhaps through the audience" (p. xix). However there does not seem to be any provable example of devils in any play known to have been performed in France moving through the audience; Dr. Muir is perhaps thinking of the well-known direction in the Jeu d'Adam about the Devil at one point: "discursum faciet per populum". The Jeu d'Adam can hardly be called typical, however, for there is no evidence that it was ever performed at all, still less of how this might have been done, thus it would be rash to assume that anything it might direct represents standard practice. On the other hand, the Mystere de Saint Martin, which we do know was performed, says clearly that before the initial diablerie the devils are to emerge from underground hiding places (see p. 120). The most reasonable interpretation of Semur's direction as given by Dr. Muir thus seems to me to be that either before the council, or throughout it, the devils appear outside Hell - but at what distance it is not clear, although, obviously, if they remain outside Hell throughout the scene, we would have to assume that they would be quite close at least after they have presented themselves to Lucifer

Chapter III (pp. 153 - 174)

- ¹ G. Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et le Compte des Dépenses pour le Mystere de la Passion joué a Mons en 1501, Strasbourg, 1925, p. 28, and R. Lebegue, Le Mystere des Actes des Apôtres, Paris, 1929, p. 169

- 2 Frères Parfaict, Histoire du Théâtre français, 15 vols, Paris, 1734 - 1749, reprinted Genève, 1967, vol. 2, p. 127
- 3 Ibid., p. 127, and Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., p. 65
- 4 E. Roy, Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, Dijon, 1903/1904, reprinted Genève, 1974, pp. 214 and 229 respectively
- 5 Cohen, Le Livre de Conduite, etc., p. 552
- 6 Ibid., p. 108
- 7 Otto Geister, in Die Teufelszenen in der Passion von Arras und der Vengeance Jhesucrist, Greifswald, 1914, pp. 37 - 38, makes much of the fact that the devils are happier and friendlier in the Vengeance than in the Passion d'Arras, but overlooks this explanation; in Arras Lucifer is, briefly, friendly to Satan after the "success" of the Slaughter of the Innocents

Chapter IV (pp. 175 - 260)

- 1 G. Lote, Histoire du Vers Français, Paris, 1955, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 290 - 304, describes the rondeau in the later Middle Ages. Apart from the simple triolet form, Lote says that the 10-line form A B a A a b b a A B is called by Eustache Deschamps a «Rondeau doublé en la fin» (p. 296). The longer rondeaux given from Greban's diableries do not correspond to any of Lote's examples, but he does mention that the rondeau was much used in drama, and that those of the Miracles de Nostre Dame are «toutes pièces d'une grande variété de structure en ce qui concerne les mètres, l'étendue et les rimes, avec des répétitions que ne connaît pas le Rondeau ordinaire» (p. 303). In Greban l. 10527 - l. 10536, the use of the single and the double minute after the letter A denotes that there are third and fourth distinct refrain-lines rhyming with the first refrain-line A, in addition to the second refrain-line B, whose rhyme is different from that of A, A' and A"
- 2 It is not always possible to be quite certain about the number of syllables in a given line of poetry in late medieval French, because there was considerable freedom over whether to count sounds in certain positions as a separate syllable or not. Chief of these "problem" sounds is the pre- or post-tonic "mute" e, which was able to be counted or not as desired (see G.A. Runnalls, ed. cit. of Auvergne, pp. 73 - 74). Thus it is often possible to analyse a given line as having (say) seven syllables or eight, and only the context may suggest which would be probably intended. On the other hand, genuine

irregularities of versification do occur, attributable to authors, to later scribes and even to remanieurs. What has been done here is to assume as much regularity as is consistent with feasibility; no line has been assigned a number of syllables that it could not possibly have, merely to preserve the regularity of the pattern that is being suggested

3

These examples are given precisely as they appear in the first reference listed, including the use of initial capitals for words if they are so treated in the chosen edition of the text in question. However, in line with practice throughout this thesis, the fact that only part of a line is being quoted and/or its punctuation, save for question and exclamation marks, are indicated only if more than one line is being quoted. This is to avoid "clutter" that would not add anything useful

4

Because they are being mentioned only for the purpose of comparison, these samples of non-diabolic language are listed mainly by sense and not by their individual text of origin, and may include several variations roughly in order of increasing complexity. However, for the sake of consistency with the rest of the thesis, the texts are quoted in the usual chronological order, so that there is not a one-to-one relationship between the samples of language and the list of plays. This makes it impossible to quote as accurately for each reference as was done with the devils' language, so a compromise has been adopted. Wherever possible, the first example in a group has been quoted exactly as it appears in the first text listed, subject to the same conventions as for the quotations from diableries, as described above. Rarely, because it has been impossible to find a simple example in the earliest text, this is, however, not so. Later examples in groups have been somewhat or entirely modernised in the interests of uniformity. The overall idea is to allow as many examples as possible to be quoted with the minimum of duplication and clutter

5

The strongest tradition about the stork seems actually to have been that the young storks fed their mother into her old age, as an example of filial care, but storks were also linked with crows, which were supposed to guide their migration; and they were often portrayed with a frog or a snake in their beak. All these beasts, or similar ones (toads instead of frogs), are associated with the devils by A. Greban. Also, the stork is noisy, as were devils. Thus while probably the link with Sloth combined with the nesting behaviour was uppermost in A. Greban's mind, possibly the other features might have encouraged him further to term Lucifer a "stork". See Florence McCulloch, Medieval French and Latin Bestiaries, Chapel Hill, 1962, p. 174; Beryl Rowland, Birds with Human Souls, Knoxville, 1978, p. 162 - p. 163; Gabriel Bianciotto, Bestiaires du Moyen Age, Paris, 1980, pp. 162 and 202

6

«Les diables: serviteurs et bouffons», in Tréteaux I (1978), pp. 51 - 69; p. 63

- 7 Gustave Cohen related some of these words in Théophile to a sort of Hebrew, but Grace Frank, the play's editor (see Chapter I, note 102), says that as a whole they are no more than «une prétendue formule magique dénuée de sens» (ed. cit., p. 28)
- 8 Art. cit., p. 52
- 9 Ibid., p. 53
- 10 Ibid., p. 52: «une longue tradition ininterrompue ... va du kômos grec et de la farce attelante ... jusqu'à nos jours»
- 11 Ibid., p. 61
- 12 One point which occurs in this respect is why, if the devils are meant to improvise extensively, are their yells and howls apparently written out for them in stylised form (see pp. 207 - 209), and even taken into the metre? In the York plays, the devil has extra-metrical yells at the beginning of his visit to Pilate's Wife (see the edition by Richard Beadle and Pamela King, p. 161, note to l. 157a). Logically, it is surely now impossible for us to say how any yelling might have been done, and so it seems better to adhere to such certainty as exists in the script, and to avoid speculating beyond it
- 13 G. Cohen, in La Mise en scène dans le Théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age, 2nd ed., Paris, 1926, records (p. 254) that at the Mystère des Trois Doms at Romans in 1509, «l'intérêt faiblit au second jour, a cause de l'ennui qui se dégage de cette interminable pièce», but that it improved on the third and final day because «on veut avoir vu le beau mystère et assister à la fin de l'entreprise». There were about 4,780 admissions on the first day, 4,220 on the second and 4,947 on the third
- 14 For the editions of these plays see Chapter I, notes 86, 102, 122 and 104 respectively
- 15 For the editions of these plays, see Chapter I, notes 97, 98 and 99 respectively
- 16 The lines given from Saint Quentin are cited by Moshe Lazar, art. cit., p. 65
- 17 G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1961, p. 515

18

Judith McCrary, The Fool in the Medieval French Drama, unpublished Ph.D thesis, Emory University, 1976, pp. 103 - 104

19

Ibid., pp. 105 - 107

20

John Elliott and G.A. Runnalls, ed. The Baptism and Temptation of Christ, New Haven and London, 1978, p. 32

Conclusion (pp. 261 - 273)

1

Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, Dijon 1903/1904, reprinted Genève, p. 275

2

From his edition of the Passion de Sainte-Geneviève, TLF, Genève, 1974, p. 10

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